

The DAILY WORKER
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a Worker's Paper

THE DAILY WORKER

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AS WE SEE
By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

A GRAFTING capitalist politician may be out, but he is seldom or ever down and out. When Harry Daugherty was shown the way back to the little town in Ohio, where he banked the money, secured from the bootleggers and other pioneers in the business not yet legalized, well meaning but not sufficiently sophisticated people said: "The fellow's goods is cooked." But Communists smelled a big rat in the premises and cautioned a policy of watchful waiting; watching Calvin Coolidge who gave him his walking papers and waiting until after the elections.

THERE is no good reason to recapitulate the events that led up to the evacuation of Washington by Daugherty. Those who do not already know the details are yet too young to be given any stronger nourishment than pasteurized milk. What we are concerned with is proving that Daugherty's removal was only a piece of political stage-play, made by Coolidge in order to save his person from the odium cast on the administration thru the exposure of the greatest orgy of corruption that ever disgraced the American people. Intrigued is the word.

COOLIDGE, slowly, and with poor grace, yielded to the clamor for Daugherty's removal. Daugherty was personally sure at the way in which he was booted out of the department of justice for doing the right thing by the gang. He was merely the goal. Communists pointed out at the time that in the event of Coolidge setting back into the White House the president would find a way of dealing and politically delousing the former attorney general.

YESTERDAY's newspapers tell us that Harry Daugherty, former attorney general of the United States, was one of Calvin Coolidge's guests at the White House. The event was not given wide publicity and may pass unnoticed except by the bootleggers and others who knew Harry's technique and would rather see him back on his old job than waste a lot of time and good money breaking in somebody else. He must for Calvin's sake, since the political stress of things.

OUR capitalist editors detect dictatorship in general and one dictatorship in particular. The particular one as anybody whose brain is not addled with cross word puzzles will be guessed immediately. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. But there are half a dozen capitalist dictatorships existing in a more or less precarious condition thruout Europe and our capitalist moralists do not expect much indignation on them. Take the Italian specimen for instance.

ONE of the reasons why our bewhiskered secretary of state does not recognize Soviet Russia is because that government was not elected by the votes of capitalists or all descriptions, legalized swindlers, as well as by the votes of the workers. The Russian government, born out of a revolution, grants only to those who participate in the production of the nation's wealth the right to vote. In America, it is for all practical purposes the other way around.

MUSSOLINI's dictatorship is praised because it saved Italy from the "menace of Bolshevism" that is from the rule of the workers. It is quite clear that it is not dictatorship our American capitalists fear but the kind that dictates for the workers and not to them. Mussolini is skating on thin ice at the present time. His dictatorship has hit a snag. It could not help doing that. Even a first class brain could not avoid disaster. His friends on the American capitalist papers who objected so strenuously to the suppression of the bourgeoisie in Russia have words of praise for Mussolini even while he is trampling on the freedom of the press which our editorial ostriches worship so dearly. Of course they do not object to the suppression of Communist papers. Benito was their idol while his show was running smoothly. Even now they have a soft spot in their hearts for him.

Auto and Bus Collide Causing Injury and Death to Passengers

GALESBURG, Ill., Jan. 9.—Two were killed and two injured when a motor bus, carrying ten persons, was in collision today with a small touring car occupied by four Burlington railroad workmen between this city and Marmouth.

The dead are: Everett Kissick and Harold McKnight, both Burlington employees of Marmouth. A third occupant of the touring car and W. B. McCullough, driver of the bus, were injured.

COMMUNISTS IN LIEBKNECHT DAY DEMONSTRATION

Tell of Class Murders
the World Over

The Communist youth all over the world will commemorate the martyrdom of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who died six years ago, martyrs to the brutal violence of the German white terror, backed by the corrupt remnants of social-democracy.

Meetings will be held today and tomorrow in all the principal cities of the country.

Meeting at Northwest Hall. The speakers at the Chicago meeting, in Northwest Hall, North and Western Ave., tomorrow night, Jan. 11, at 8 p. m., will be John Williamson, national secretary of the Young Workers' League; Alexander Bittelmann, member of the central executive committee of the Workers Party; Peter Herd of Chicago, and Barney Mass, member of the national executive committee of the Young Workers' League.

The Young Communist International is making its voice heard round the world in the Liebknecht meetings, against the persecution of the socialists and fascist preachers of violence and oppression of the workers against the class justice of the capitalists. The Communists are raising the slogan of "justice administered by the workers."

An important feature of the program of the Chicago meeting will be the speech of Al Galatski, representing the junior groups, and a recitation by Ida Middleman of the junior section of the Y. W. L., who will recite Charles Ashleigh's poem, "Liebknecht." The Young Workers' League orchestra will furnish the musical program.

List of Other Meetings. Meetings in other cities are as follows:

New York City—Jan. 11, Star Casino, 107th St. and Park Ave., 2 p. m. Speakers: J. Stachel, H. Zam, M. Speer, S. Rosen, and Ludwig Lore. Tab. League, dancing, singing. Violinist, Mischa Lifshitz. Music by Lithuanian mandolin orchestra.

Buffalo—Jan. 11, 8 p. m., 159 Grider street. Party and league speakers.

Detroit, Mich.—Jan. 11, 2 p. m. Speakers: Max Schachtman, editor the Young Worker, and others.

Milwaukee, Wis.—Miller's Hall, 802 State St., 2 p. m. Speakers: John Edwards and others.

Cleveland, Ohio—Jalisco Hall, 6006 St. Clair St., Jan. 11, 8 p. m. Speakers: Nat Kaplan and Oliver Carlson.

Kenosha, Wis.—German-American Hall, 8 p. m. Speakers: Robert Garver and others.

Baltimore, Md.—Progressive Labor Lyceum. Party and league speakers.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Eagle Temple, Broad and Spring Garden Sts., Jan. 10, 8 p. m. Speakers: Oliver Carlson, L. Love, and H. M. Wicks.

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Speakers: Max Salsman and others.

South Bend, Ind.—Jan. 11, 2:30 p. m., 1216 W. Colfax Ave. Speakers: Harry Gannes and others.

Gardner, Mass.—Casino Hall, 65 Main St., Jan. 11, 8 p. m. Speakers: Sid Bloomfield and others.

Elie, Pa.—Jan. 11, 8 p. m. Party and league speakers.

Providence, R. I.—Jan. 11, 8 p. m. Speakers: William Simons and others.

Hibbing, Minn.—Jan. 11, 8 p. m. Party speaker.

Other meetings have been arranged but the time and locations have not yet been received by the national office.

All readers of the DAILY WORKER should attend these meetings and bring their shopmates.

"In Memoriam—Lenin" to be shown Jan. 15 at Gartner's Theater.

THANK YOU, COMRADE ALLEN!

A THREE DOLLAR remittance from H. Allen of Berkeley, Cal., for a subscription to a political prisoner has been applied to a six months sub for the DAILY WORKER for Joseph Wallace, a prisoner in the Moundsville, W. Va., jail for participation in the famous March of the Miners in 1922.

We are sure the gift of a subscription of a fighting working class newspaper to a fighting miner will be a welcome one.

Thank you, Comrade Allen!

Northwest Hall North and Western Aves.

Auspices:
Young Workers League, Local Chicago

COMMUNISTS AND LEFT WINGERS IN MINNEAPOLIS GIVING FAKERS REAL FIGHT FOR THE ASSEMBLY

(Special to The Daily Worker)
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Jan. 9.—The Communists and left wing forces in the Minneapolis labor movement are filing a complete slate of candidates in the elections for the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly to take place next Wednesday, Jan. 14.

In putting forth these candidates, the Minneapolis section of the Trade Union Educational League does so on the basis of a program designed to strengthen the local trade union movement.

Unions Losing Members. Since the "open shop" crowd launched their attack against the unions in 1921, the unions have been continually going down until today many locals are mere skeletons of their former selves. The group in control of the central body at the present time are interested only in "killing" the "reds"—but never in building the movement.

They are now going to be forced to render an account of their activities to the rank and file members of the local unions. The left wing program is a constructive program—its adoption means the giving of life and vitality to the working class movement in Minneapolis.

During this coming week it will be taken into all local unions in the city where the rank and file will have an opportunity to pass judgment and instruct their assembly delegates.

The slate and program is as follows: Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly Elections, Jan. 14, 1925.

For president—George A. Thornton, Painters' No. 184.

For vice-president—Carl Skoglund, Railway Carmen No. 239.

For recording secretary—Dun W. Stevens, Painters' No. 184.

For financial secretary—J. O. Johnson, Carpenters' No. 7.

Editor, Minneapolis Labor Review—V. R. Dunne, Bookkeepers' No. 17681.

Sergeant at arms—Oscar Lilla, Blacksmiths' No. 205.

Register clerk—L. A. Roseland, Carpenters' No. 7.

Trustee—William Maueath, Machinists' No. 91.

Program. In giving its endorsement to the foregoing candidates, the left wing forces in the labor movement do so on the basis of the following program:

(1) Organization: The immediate launching of an organization campaign to build and strengthen the trade union movement. We urge all (Continued on Page 1.)

BRITISH AND AMERICAN SAILORS GET TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA

(By Rosta Telegraph Agency.)
MOSCOW, Jan. 9.—It is reported from Odessa that a meeting was held at the international club there in honor of the English sailors from British ships anchored in the port. A report was made in English on the internal and external situation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In the discussion that followed the report several English speakers declared that during their stay in Odessa they had been amply satisfied as to what an amount of falsehood was circulated on the Soviet Republics by part of the English press, and that now they knew themselves that the Soviet power is really the power of workers and peasants defending the interests of the proletariat of all of Russia but of all the world.

Twenty American sailors from the steamer Nobles, which has been to Novorossiysk for foodstuffs, technical materials for the "Azneft" (Azerbaijani Oil Syndicate), have come on a visit to Tiflis. They have been greatly interested in everything they have seen. In conversations with their hosts, the American sailors have stated that the workers in America are openly agitating in favor of recognition of the Soviet government.

Belmont Registers Earthquake. BELFORT, France, Jan. 9.—An earthquake was registered in Alsace today. The shock was recorded at 2:40 a. m.

INTERNATIONAL Karl Liebknecht Day

Sunday January 11, 8 P. M.

DAILY WORKER HAS MADE THE BOSSES QUAKE

Incalculable Strength
to the Working Class

Militant workers all over the country have begun to celebrate the first anniversary of one of the most outstanding events in the history of the Communist movement of America and the world—the founding of the DAILY WORKER, the first Communist daily newspaper to be printed in the English language.

In New York an excellent concert where professionals will render fitting revolutionary entertainment will be given at the New Star Casino, 107th St. and Park Ave., on Sunday evening, Jan. 11. At 9 p. m. a grand ball will start, with splendid entertainment in between.

The entire staff of the DAILY WORKER will be present at the first birthday party given in Chicago, Monday evening, Jan. 12, at Imperial Hall, 2400 N. Halsted St. This celebration is reported in another column.

The DAILY WORKER has been a thorn in the side of the capitalists, the labor fakers, and all other enemies of the working class, but it has been a bright red star of hope to the toiling workers of America.

The DAILY WORKER has stood side by side with striking workers on the picket lines thruout the country, playing a prominent part in the Chicago Ladies' Garment Workers' strike of the Patterson, N. J. silk workers, the Pullman and Hogewich carbuilders' strikes, and many other skirmishes of the class struggle. The DAILY WORKER has been an incalculable power for strengthening the working class in the left wing fights in the carpenters', machinists', miners', and many other trade unions. Wherever the workers have battled for power, the DAILY WORKER has been at hand to press the immediate demands of the workers in their everyday struggles. The DAILY WORKER has been the standard bearer of the American Communist movement, rallying the workers to demand control of industry and government, and the overthrow of the employing class.

When the call came for the DAILY WORKER readers to establish a fund to insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925, the response was immediate and substantial, and the workers are continuing to respond.

Celebrations of the DAILY WORKER'S first birthday are being held in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, New York, Rochester, Buffalo, and all upland cities of the country.

Night Shirts Are Asked to Join in Church Revival

PARIS, Ill., Jan. 9.—A long step toward church unity has been taken in Paris, six protestant churches having united in a three weeks' evangelistic campaign. Pastors of the various congregations are speaking and converts are to be affiliated with the church of their choice.

It is understood that members of the Ku Klux Klan have been urged by the leaders to attend the services as individuals and aid in the campaign.

OLGIN TO LECTURE AT WORKERS' SCHOOL ON TUESDAY, JAN. 13

(Special to The Daily Worker)
NEW YORK, Jan. 9.—On Tuesday, Jan. 13, Mollasay J. Olgin will lecture at the Workers' School, 203 E. 12th street on "Cultural Aspects of the Russian Revolution." This is the third lecture in his series on Russian revolution given on alternate Tuesdays. Registration for this series is still open.

Results of Membership Meetings

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—At a general membership meeting held here last Thursday evening, to discuss the immediate tasks of the party, the theses of the C. E. C. (majority) was endorsed by a vote of 63 to 13.

HARRY M. DAUGHERTY, OUSTED FROM DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, IS AGAIN 'SILENT CAL'S' ADVISER

(Special to The Daily Worker)
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 9.—The expected has happened! Harry M. Daugherty is again quite at home in Washington, not in the "little green house on K street" but in the big White House on Potomac avenue.

Harry Daugherty, once the head of the powerful department of justice and chief of the law enforcing agency of big business, is again back on the job, tho unofficially—yet.

President Calvin Coolidge, is selecting a new attorney-general to succeed Stone who was elevated to the United States supreme court to succeed McKenna. Harry M. Daugherty is among those doing the selecting.

Among the guests at a reception given by the president on Thursday night, was Harry M. Daugherty, who left Washington in disgrace only a few months ago. His walking papers were written by Calvin Coolidge.

Killing Big News. Daugherty's appearance at the reception had big news value, but it was not played up by the capitalist press.

Those versed in political strategy declare that Coolidge and the big business elements he serves have a very warm spot in their hearts for Harry Daugherty and furthermore that their hard business heads tell them that he was and is and can be in the future a very useful man for them.

Breaking the Strike. They cannot forget that he was largely instrumental in breaking the shopmen's strike in 1922 thru the use of all the necessary governmental powers to do the job. Since then, railroads have not been bothered with any serious strikes and the railroad shop-craft unions are but pitiful caricatures of their former selves.

Big business wants the "public" to get used to the presence of Daugherty in Washington. The next election is a long way off and democrats and "progressives" were interested in getting Daugherty's scalp only because they believed such an operation would bring them votes.

Expecting More Trouble. Big business knows that it is not thru with labor troubles. But it is taking precautions. Daugherty secured a wealth of experience during his term of office. He is one of the white-haired boys of big business. He "does his stuff" as he is told and it was unfortunate that he had to be made a goat of, but he kept his mouth shut during those trying days when a word from him could have knocked the G. O. P. elephant for a row of giggling donkeys.

Daugherty will be rewarded.

WORKERS PARTY BRANCHES READY FOR 'SUB' DRIVE

Get Readers and Voters
at Same Time

The DAILY WORKER special Chicago subscription drive is in full swing. All party branches are supplied with the special sub-card folders containing five one dollar subs.

The joining of the subscription drive to the aldermanic campaign has presented an opportunity to get real action on house to house work for the DAILY WORKER. Every party member is instructed when he carries his petitions about in the precincts to have with him and try to sell, sub-cards from his subscription folder.

Put Workers in Charge. Either the secretary of the branch or the branch DAILY WORKER agent has charge of the folders. A strict record is being kept of everyone taking a folder from the branch. Every member is expected to return either the folder or the money.

The campaign captains in the wards in which we have candidates have an additional supply to make certain that every petition worker receives a folder.

Below are printed the quotas of the (Continued on page 2)

MEMBERS OF Y. W. L. IN N. Y. I. REMEMBER THE MEMBERSHIP MEETING

The general membership meeting of the Young Workers' League was arranged in New York City prior to the conclusion of the discussion in both the league and the party and it is expected that every member will attend the meeting which has been arranged for Friday, Jan. 16, in Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Ave.

The position of the national executive committee of the Y. W. L. on the political outline of work and the future policy of the party will be presented by Comrade John Williamson, executive secretary of the league.

It is imperative that every member of the league in New York City be present at this meeting as it will be of the greatest importance. It is expected that the activity of the New York league will increase manifold after a thorough discussion of the immediate tasks that lie before the Young Workers' League on a national scale.

This meeting will be limited to members of the Young Workers' League only. Admission will be by paid up membership card.

Comrades of New York City, cancel all other meetings immediately and prepare to attend the general membership meeting en masse.

DEMAND RELEASE OF RUTHENBERG IN COURT BRIEF

Imprisoned Solely for Opinions

A brief was submitted to the Michigan supreme court yesterday, calling for the release of C. E. Ruthenberg, national executive secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party now in Jackson penitentiary, and demanding that Ruthenberg be given a new trial.

The brief submitted by Isaac Ferguson, attorney for Ruthenberg, requests that the previous judgment of the supreme court of Michigan be reversed, on the grounds that Ruthenberg committed no crime by expressing his opinions.

The hazy, indefinite and unconstitutional character of the criminal syndicalism law, under which Comrade Ruthenberg was sentenced to a prison term of from three to ten years and a fine of \$5,000, is brought out in the brief, which was submitted to the court by Isaac Ferguson, attorney for Comrade Ruthenberg.

"The judgment entered against respondent (Ruthenberg) deprives him of his liberty and property without due process of law, and denies to him the equal protection of the laws, contrary to the provisions of section 1, article XIV of amendments to the constitution of the United States," the brief for Comrade Ruthenberg says in part. "The judgment entered in the circuit court against respondent ought to be reversed and set aside by this court, especially because it is not within the due process of law to penalize respondent for the act of assembling with a group of persons who espouse certain doctrines when there was no intent or attempt, in connection with said act of assembling, to achieve, incite or promote an overt act of physical injury to any persons or property or to any governmental establishment or operation."

Violated No Law. "It is contrary to due process of law and a denial of the equal protection of the laws, as provided by the fourteenth amendment, to proscribe the peaceful assembly of any group of persons because of their belief in certain doctrines."

The brief then declares that the Michigan criminal syndicalism law is not limited by its terms to the mere act of assembling with other persons, but violation of the law must show intent to promote acts of criminal injury. This Comrade Ruthenberg did not do, and is not charged with doing, the brief points out.

Law Unconstitutional. "The judgment ought to be reversed because the provisions of the criminal syndicalism statute upon which it is based, establish a prior restraint upon expression of opinion, in violation of the fourteenth amendment," the brief continues. "The mere expression of opinions, no matter how reprehensible, cannot constitutionally be punished as crime."

"The judgment ought to be set aside because the provisions of the criminal syndicalism statute upon which it is based are too vague and indefinite to provide an ascertainable standard of guilt of crime."

Right to Assemble.

"Syndicalists, Communists, or others who favor doctrines proscribed by the criminal syndicalism statute, are as much entitled as any other persons to the protection of the law in peacefully meeting together, unless there is involved immediate intent or attempt of overt criminal injury."

Marx Can't Form Cabinet.

BERLIN, Jan. 9.—Chancellor Marx today relinquished his mandate to form a cabinet and informed President Ebert he had exhausted all possibilities of the construction of a ministry without finding a workable solution.

"Polikushka" is coming to Gertner's Independent Theater, Jan. 15.

ROBERT MINOR

Internationally Known Cartoonist, Lecturer and Author will speak on

THE STAGNANT SOUTH—A PROBLEM IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Sunday, Jan. 11th, 8 P. M.

at the WORKERS PARTY OPEN FORUM

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM (Lodge Room), Ashland Avenue and Van Buren Streets

Take Metropolitan "L" to Marshall St., or surface lines on Van Buren

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

Single admission 25c

Tickets good for any three admissions, 50c

Get Busy With the Petitions!

The aldermanic elections in this city are near. In order to wage an effective Communist campaign during the election period the Workers Party must have candidates in the field.

In order to get our candidates on the ballot, certain legal formalities must be complied with, the most important of which is collecting signatures. This job must be done at once. The petitions can be secured at the office of Local Chicago of the Workers Party, Next Sunday—TOMORROW—is a very good day to collect signatures. Get your petitions today and be on the job tomorrow helping to put our candidates on the ballot in the city aldermanic elections.

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETINGS

It is important that every city in which there is a party organization hold a Lenin Memorial meeting. Many such meetings have already been arranged and speakers assigned.

Every party unit which has not already done so should immediately arrange to hold a Lenin Memorial meeting and send in to the National Office the date of the meeting, name and location of the hall, time, name of the person in charge, and state whether local speakers are available or whether assignment of speakers should be thru the national office.

Following is a list of meetings which have been arranged:

Wednesday, Jan. 21.
Chicago, Ill., at 8 p. m., at Ashland Auditorium, Ashland and Van Buren Sts. Speakers: Browder, Dunne, Engdahl, and Swaback.

Kansas City, Mo., hall to be announced. Speaker, J. E. Snyder.

Friday, Jan. 23.

Niagara Falls, N. Y., at 7:30 p. m., Hippodrome Hall, corner Pine and 19th Sts. Speaker to be announced.

Saturday, Jan. 25.

Philadelphia, Pa., at 8 p. m., at the Lulu Temple, corner Broad and Spring Garden Sts. Speaker to be announced.

South Bend, Ind., at 8 p. m., at Workers' Home, 1216 W. Colfax Ave. Speaker, Manuel Gomez.

Milwaukee, Wis., at 8 p. m., at the Auditorium. Speakers: Foster and Bedacht.

Sunday, Jan. 25.

St. Paul, Minn. Hall to be announced. Speaker, Earl Browder.

Minneapolis, Minn. Hall to be announced. Speaker, Earl Browder.

Grand Rapids, Mich., at 8:30 p. m., Workmen's Circle Temple, 247 Mt. Vernon Ave. Speaker to be announced.

Hartford, Conn. Hall to be announced. Speaker, Joseph Manley.

Detroit, Mich., at 2 p. m., House of the Masses, 2101 Gratiot Ave. Speaker, Robert Minor.

Boston, Mass., at 3 p. m., Seaside Auditorium, 12 Berkeley St. Speaker, John J. Ballam.

Cleveland, Ohio. Hall to be announced later. Speaker, Benjamin Gitlow.

Los Angeles, Cal., at 2 p. m., Blanchard Hall, 233 S. Broadway. Speaker to be announced.

Easton, Pa., at 2 p. m., Lithuanian (Bakers) Hall, N. 7th St., near Northampton St. Speaker to be announced.

Dowell, Ill., at 3 p. m., Rex Theater, Union Ave. Speaker to be announced.

Bridgeport, Conn., at 8 p. m., Workmen's Circle Hall, 310 State St. Speaker to be announced.

Akron, Ohio, at 2 p. m., Zeigler Hall, corner Voris and Miami Sts.

Superior, Wis., Workers' Hall, corner Tower and 6th. Speaker to be announced.

Sunday, Feb. 1.

New York, N. Y., at 3 p. m., Madison Square Garden. Speakers: Foster and Ruthenberg.

New Haven, Conn. Hall to be announced. Speaker, Joseph Manley.

Buffalo, N. Y., at 8 p. m., Labor Lyceum, 376 William St. Speaker to be announced.

The spirit in which the first anniversary of Lenin's death is to be commemorated is not one of mourning, but a living proof of the fact that while Lenin is dead, Leninism lives and grows toward the realization of our common goal, the Communist state.

In the United States we must make these meetings a real demonstration of party strength, of Leninist following and devotion to our greatest leader and teacher.

"In Memoriam—Lenin" to be shown Jan. 15 at Gertner's Theater.

Fire at 20 Below.

WINNIPEG, Man., Jan. 9.—Fanned by a strong north wind, whipping thru a temperature of nearly 20 degrees below zero, fire early today was sweeping thru the Northern Shirt company's building. The loss probably will run as high as \$250,000.

Marine Workers Face Deportation.

SAN FRANCISCO.—Four marine transport workers, Oga Jensen, Gus Johanson, Pat O'Hara and Karl Zetterquist, arrested in a raid on the union's hall, face deportation. The men have been transferred from the San Francisco city prison to Angel Island, the immigrant station, and will be held there until orders come from Washington.

FOX Hunt Stops Opium Probe.

GENEVA, Jan. 9.—England has requested a postponement of the international opium conference set for Jan. 12, it was announced today, because of the injury suffered by the Marquis of Salisbury, in a fox hunt. The marquis had just been appointed chairman of the British delegation to the conference.

Build the DAILY WORKER!

POWER OF RED FLAG GROWS IN ITALY DAILY

Communists Lead Workers Against Fascism

(Special to The Daily Worker)

ROME, Jan. 9.—Hundreds of Communists are now confined by fascists in Italian prisons, but Communist demonstrations are daily increasing.

That the fascist violence is striking not at the "Aventine opposition," pledged to passive resistance, but at the Communists, whose influence is daily growing, is shown in the numerous acts of violence against the Communists.

At Cinisella a huge crowd gathered on the streets and sang "The Red Flag," a clash with fascist bands ensuing, several fascists and one Communist being wounded by revolver shots.

At Brescia the workers attacked the police who had arrested a Communist leader. Three Communist and several fascists were shot. At Mantua a crowd of workers stormed the police headquarters to free a Communist who had been arrested. A street battle occurred when fascists fired into the crowd, and many were wounded.

At Castelnuovo, near Reggio-Emilia, the head of the local fascists, attacked a Communist, who defended himself with a knife, fatally wounding the fascist leader.

A manifesto issued by the opposition declares that Premier Mussolini has not yet freed himself of grave charges, and that an election now would insult the intelligence of the nation, and would be but another attempt of Mussolini to rule by force.

The opposition calls for Mussolini's resignation, declaring that "The government is trampling the fundamental laws of the state, stopping the free voice of the press, suppressing the right to meet, and persecuting individuals and parties while it tolerates the leaving unpunished of devastations and crimes which damage its adversaries. A criminal association, which is the instrument of violence and death, is heaped high up close to the government."

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Imperialism Clings to Opium as a Faithful Ally of Its Profit Rule

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

TODAY, suave statesmen of the stripes extant in London, Paris, Rome, Tokio and the seats of lesser capitalist governments, are working overtime pulling wires for the control of the Second Opium Conference opening at Geneva, Switzerland, on Monday. Their job is not a difficult one.

Huge profits roll in from the sale of this dope used to sadden the minds of the hundreds of millions of subject oriental peoples, especially in India and China.

But the great world imperialisms, of Great Britain, France and Japan, with Holland, Portugal and smaller countries, see greater stakes than the profit in opium alone. "Opium" is the drug that aids in keeping whole peoples enslaved to foreign imperialists. It is a powerful weapon in aid of the armies of occupation.

The Opium Conference is only a child of the League of Nations, capitalism's black international. Its purpose is not to war on opium; but to use opium as a weapon of imperialist interests. This truth looms big as one considers the fact that Soviet Russia had no representatives at Geneva. This might give the Communists an opportunity to expose this nest of capitalist thieves.

It will be remembered that the much-heralded Washington Disarmament Conference declared against the sending of arms and other munitions of war to China. But the various upstart "generals" of the different imperialist nations have always been well supplied with the weapons of slaughter, to battle for their respective masters.

Great Britain and Japan are most concerned in the Geneva dope conference. They control the market and are the real traffickers in the drug raised in China, Cochinchina, and the Dutch and Portuguese possessions.

Political expediency demands that the British Empire supports and promotes the opium habit in India. Drugged India thru this diabolical means is rendered more helpless in her struggle against British rule. Opium, the drug, is a faithful ally of that other opium, religion, in keeping the Indian natives in submission. Therefore the British statesmen are eager champions of the opium traffic.

Great Britain with Japan are in China with opium as one of their most loyal field marshals. But the Chinese, more loyal than ever to their revolution, are also combatting the opium phase of the imperialist menace.

The extent of the opium trade can be seen from the fact that it puts \$3,000,000,000 annually into the pockets of the opium profiteers; 200 vessels are engaged in the opium traffic; 50,000 opium dens are to be found in Asiatic cities; 9,000,000 are doomed to die, victims of this curse, within the next two years. One authority charges that a larger number of Orientals die every year from the effects of opium than there were soldiers slain in the world war.

There is no denying that Soviet Russia holds out the only solution for the opium curse upon Eastern peoples. The Workers' Republic, with its Communist program, comes to the peoples of the East with the double drive: (1) take the profit out of the opium traffic, and (2) liberate the subject nations of Asia from the imperialist yoke.

Capitalist imperialism, for its own preservation, must combat both of these solutions of the opium problem. Capitalism never has and never will take up arms against private profit. Capitalist nations will make no move that will handicap their dictatorships over colonies or subject peoples. The opium curse will remain until capitalism is overthrown. End capitalism, and the opium plague goes with it to its doom.

This threat of a Communist solution of the opium traffic will be a nightmare, not a hope, at the opium conference in Geneva. The gathering in Switzerland is just another tea party apologizing for capitalism but proposing no cures for the evils growing out of it. Those cures are only proposed by the aroused working masses driving toward the world's social revolution.

MINNEAPOLIS HAS TAKEN REAL STEP FOR LABOR UNITY

By C. Skoglund.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—In our last T. U. E. L. meeting were represented some of the best working class elements in Minneapolis. Individuals of the local I. W. W. were invited and they responded enthusiastically. A committee of four was selected to visit next Thursday's meeting of the local I. W. W. for the purpose of having them elect four members to effect some plan of unity between all left wing elements in the local labor movement. If the same spirit be continued, it is no doubt but we are going to effect unity of our forces.

A program for the labor assembly election was presented by the industrial committee of the T. U. E. L. and approved. Steps were also taken that a committee will visit all Workers' Party branches outlining our industrial program, and also having every member of the party join their respective unions.

The organized labor movement in Minneapolis is in a very weak condition, and a campaign to arouse enthusiasm in the labor movement is necessary. No campaign to organize the unorganized since the citizens' alliance launched their famous open shop drive, has taken place and as a consequence, the organized labor movement has lost its militancy that it formerly had.

A campaign to organize the unorganized is absolutely necessary and such a campaign must be started in the spring, and on such a broad basis that every worker will hear the call to action. Every party member must become members of unions and give their assistance in the struggles of the working class.

TOKYO, Jan. 9.—No damage resulted from three earthquakes felt here during the past 12 hours, according to reports this afternoon. They were the first of the new year.

WRECKS OF WAR DEMAND BREAD FROM CONGRESS

Disabled Without Money for Food or Medicine

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—One thousand and sixteen disabled world war veterans today hammered on the doors of congress for belated justice.

This battalion of cripples, with their hundreds of war decorations from all the allied governments, but little money for food or medicine, sent a delegation to plead for an enactment of the Bursum bill granting regular retirement pay to disabled emergency army officers.

All other officers who served in the world war have long since received this compensation as a reward for their wounds. The handful who volunteered, received emergency commission, served thru the war and then were dropped from the rolls alone are excepted.

As a result of the plea, Senator Bursum, republican of New Mexico, announced he would demand consideration of the relief bill in the senate at the "first opportunity."

Of the thousand and sixteen veterans benefited by the measure, all served in France and all fell from wounds or disease "contracted in the line of duty." Since the bill first came before congress in 1920, their lines have been decimated by death. Two hundred of the eligible died while congress delayed and 15 died since congress reconvened in December.

The total cost of the bill, Bursum said, would be about

RAIL CHIEFS HAD KILLING BEE FOR 3RD PARTY, NOV. 8

Meeting Was Called by Warren Stone

CLEVELAND, Jan. 9.—The third party, so far as the railroad brotherhoods and associated unions are concerned, was killed over a week before the opening of the American Federation of Labor convention in El Paso, Nov. 17. The killing took place in Cleveland, Nov. 8 at a meeting called by Pres. Warren S. Stone of the locomotive engineers for another purpose. There were present, according to Editor John F. McNamee of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Engineers' magazine, the chief executive or representatives of 17 railroad labor organizations and of the Longshoremen's Union, the railway employees department of the A. F. of L., of the A. F. of L. itself and Edward Keating, manager of Labor, the rail unions' weekly.

The principal business was the handling of the Howell-Barkley railroad control bill which is backed by rail labor.

"Towards the conclusion of this meeting," McNamee reports, "the question of the establishment of a new political party was taken up and considered and a motion setting forth that 'this body is not in favor of the establishment of a third political party' was adopted. A motion was adopted providing that the chairman appoint a committee of three, in addition to the chairman, to interview Sen. La Follette to ascertain his views upon the action taken as outlined by this motion."

The conference for progressive political action, of which the railroad unions form the backbone, meets in Chicago, Feb. 21 to consider launching a new party.

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U. S. COMMERCE REPORTS SHOW HOW BAN ON RUSS TRADE KEEPS WORKERS HERE JOBLESS

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—How the failure of the American government to recognize Russia is hurting American trade is once more indicated in Commerce Reports, official publication of the department of commerce, in which the chief of the hide and leather division of the bureau of foreign and domestic commerce says, concerning Russian foreign purchases:

"Purchases abroad of 3,000,000 feet of chrome and kid leather have just been completed by the Russian state trading organization. This was a government order, placed to cover the needs of the leather syndicate."

These purchases were: Germany, 200,000 feet of chrome and 150,000 feet of colored kid; France, 400,000 feet of kid; the United States, 450,000 feet of kid. Part of these orders had already been received and the remainder is en route. Terms of four to five months without interest were obtained from the firms making the sales. A contract has also been made for delivery of 8,000,000 pounds of sole leather from a leather factory in Lithuania in a year's time."

Huge Contracts in Sweden.

In the same issue, A. E. Fenslau, clerk to the American commercial attaché at Copenhagen, reports: "Eight machine-building plants in Sweden are engaged in executing Russian contracts for machinery, four of which will employ about 1,500 workers on these Russian orders and four others 200 hands until the end of the year. Three plants in addition to the eight mentioned recommenced operations during the second quarter of 1924."

Germany, France, Sweden and Lithuania all have full diplomatic relations with Russia.

Unemployment increased.

Meanwhile the Federal Reserve Bulletin for July, 1924, has declared that production of basic commodities in the United States was lower in May, 1924, than for May, 1923; that factory employment fell 4 per cent in May, and that "the largest reduction of working force occurred in the textile, metal, automobile and leather industries."

Without diplomatic relations, American exporters of machinery, leather and other goods needed by Russia are compelled to face special difficulties as to credits, insurance, ship papers, inspection of goods, etc., or to cut prices to cover the cost of this extra work if it is done by the Russian government trading corporation.

WANTED

A few copies of The Weekly Worker for April 7, 1923. Address, Hammermark, c. o. The DAILY WORKER.

Changes Made in Battlefront for the Aldermanic Campaign

The following changes have been made in connection with the aldermanic elections in Chicago on Feb. 24: It has been decided not to enter a candidate in the 31st Ward. Instead Comrade Candella will take charge of campaigning the 11th Ward, in which Comrade Victor Zokaitis is the candidate.

The Greek branch has been transferred to aid in the 11th Ward. The Douglas Park Jewish branch has been changed from activity in the 32nd Ward to the 14th Ward, where Comrade Epstein is the candidate and Kruse captain.

The Mid-City English branch has been transferred to work in the 32nd Ward, where Comrade Gajka is the candidate and A. Overgaard the captain.

The Hungarian branch has been transferred to aid in the 44th Ward, where Jack Johnstone is the candidate and Walt Carmon captain.

The petitions have been out already a week—which Ward is the first to fill its quota? Ward captains, bring filled out petitions to the local office as soon as you get them. Keep after the members to fill out petitions as soon as possible.

WATCH THE DAILY WORKER FOR NEWS ON THE CAMPAIGN!

Secret Documents Reveal White Plots Against Red Russia

MOSCOW, Jan. 9.—As reported from Berlin, several German papers have published a series of secret documents relative to the peace negotiations at Versailles, some of these interesting documents referring to the intervention in Soviet Russia.

From the latter it appears that in the question of this intervention there was originally a big difference between America and Britain on one hand and France on the other. Both President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George considered that intervention was not possible and advocated negotiations with the Soviet government. Winston Churchill was the only English politician entirely in favor of intervention.

On the French side, however, Mr. Clemenceau urged the necessity of intervention the most energetically and was supported in his views by Marshal Foch. The latter, in March, 1917, came forth with his scheme of succoring Poland, which was allegedly threatened by the Soviet republics. Altho the marshal's plan was not endorsed by the allied supreme council, both Foch and Clemenceau persisted all thru the years of 1918 and 1919 in urging the necessity of a resolute struggle against Soviet Russia, a struggle of which the burden was to be borne by the lesser states of central and south eastern Europe, such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania.

Atlanta Prison Warden Is Ousted On Bribery Charge

BOISE, Idaho, Jan. 9.—The resignation of Warden John Snook of Lempho county, "effective as soon as possible," so that he may become warden of the federal prison at Atlanta, Ga., was tendered the state prison today.

Warden Snook will succeed A. E. Sartain at the Atlanta prison. Sartain is under indictment, returned following an investigation of charges that he had accepted bribes for "soft berths" to prisoners.

Labor and Women Co-operate.

SEATTLE.—The Washington State Federation of Labor and the women's organizations of the state are the principal factors in nailing the lies issued against the child labor amendment by those employers and other interests who don't want the state legislature to ratify it.

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BOGUS COUNCIL WOULD ENSLAVE POOR FARMERS

Coolidge and Bankers Control "Co-operative"

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 9.—The preliminaries to a libel suit against Henry Ford have been completed by Aaron Sapro, who is asking the bankers to control the co-operative marketing organizations, charging Ford with libelous statements in the Dearborn Independent. Ford charged Sapro with being in a "Communist conspiracy," along with Bernard Baruch, Julius Rosenberg, Otto H. Kahn, Albert D. Lasker, and other bankers, to gain control of agriculture.

According to the formal document which Sapro has sent Ford, announcing his intention of suing for libel, Ford said, "This whole Kahn-Baruch-Lasker-Rosenwald-Sapro program is carefully planned to turn over to an organized international interest the entire agricultural industry of the republic. Between the lines one reads the story of the Jewish Communist movement in America, which seeks to make the United States what it has already made of Russia."

The national council of farmers' co-operatives is controlled by these bankers, who keep in close touch with President Coolidge. It was formed in an attempt to eradicate radical ideas from the brains of the farmers.

In line with its program of sabotaging all attempts of the farmers to secure legislation to better their bankrupt condition, the "co-operative council," meeting in Washington, went on record as opposing government aid for co-operatives, declaring it "unwise to stimulate artificially such organizations by any sort of governmental aid, special favoritism or subsidy."

This resolution follows out the wishes of Coolidge, expressed in a speech at the opening of the convention of the bogus co-operative association. Coolidge said at that time he would oppose legislation to aid the farmers.

The council is entirely reactionary in character. A Judge—Robert Bingham of Louisville, was re-elected chairman of the council. One of the members of the executive committee is former Governor Lowden of Illinois, who pretends to be a farmer, but who does the dirty work of Wall Street in agricultural circles, and who is connected with several of the largest corporations in America, including the Pullman car company, in which he owns much stock. The council co-operates with President Coolidge altho it has nothing to do with the bankrupt farmers.

Waterfront Workers Display Real Class Solidarity in Strike

SYDNEY, Australia, Jan. 9.—The waterfront workers' strike thruout Australia defies all efforts to secure a settlement. The men are displaying great solidarity and have the support of other unions.

At all ports the waterfront workers refuse to work on any overseas vessels the cargoes of which have been handled by men employed by the non-union labor bureau of the Overseas Shipping companies at Sydney—a bureau established to try and introduce the open shop policy on the Australian waterfront. Vessels loaded by men from the bureau are forced to lay up or leave Australia without cargoes.

As the non-union labor bureau is established only at Sydney (all other states being under labor rule) there is no trouble in the other ports except that unionists will not touch non-union work.

The following unions are likely to be also involved in the dispute, carriers and drivers, motor transport workers, railway workers, seamen, engineers and firemen, ship's painters, marine cooks, bakers and butchers, and dockers.

Negotiations are now taking place whereby any vessel loaded by non-union labor in Australia will be boycotted on arrival in Great Britain.

Burn Girls' Time Cards to Dodge the Minimum Wage Law

TORONTO, Jan. 9.—The changing and theft of employees' time cards figured in the evidence given before the minimum wage board that the Willards Chocolates, Ltd., had violated the minimum wage law. This is the firm against which the Toronto Trade and Labor Council made charges. The name was kept secret until just lately.

Cyril Johnson, former timekeeper, swore that his immediate superior, J. A. Gratton, had ordered him to change the dates on the time cards of certain girl employees to prevent inspectors from finding out that the girls were being underpaid. He testified that the girls were being underpaid. He testified that to cover up the alterations he had been told to make out new cards for all the girl employees and to throw the old cards into the furnace. The latter part of his instructions had not been carried out and "someone" stole those old cards. During the hearing, which is not yet finished, it came out that the company's paychecks for four months were missing.

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL ISSUES FINANCIAL STATEMENT AND CALLS FOR FUNDS FOR NEW LEGAL BATTLE

The great, aggressive defense fight for the Michigan Communists started in September, 1922. Hundreds of thousands of pieces of printed matter, publicity, leaflets, pamphlets, folders, etc. were spread far and wide.

Workers' organizations, unions, fraternal organizations, Communists and sympathizers, believers in free speech for workers, were rallied all over the country, and contributed to the work of the Labor Defense Council.

An enormous legal battle was waged. The Foster jury disagreed in the spring of 1923, but the prosecution oiled the machinery for Ruthenberg's conviction. After a year and a half the Michigan Supreme Court upheld the conviction, and the prosecution of the Michigan cases has been revived and speeded up. The law is ignored, the courts show their capitalist colors once again. A whole organization—the Workers (Communist) Party is in danger since 32 of its leaders are menaced.

Thousands of dollars are needed immediately for the Ruthenberg appeal to the United States supreme court, for the Minor trial and those that will follow. In addition to the legal fight, the cases must receive the widest publicity, the facts must be spread broadcast so that all workers and their organizations will know that THEIR CAUSE is the cause of these Workers (Communist) Party defendants, and will unite in a mass protest and demand for their freedom.

The Labor Defense Council appeals to all workers to give generously, without stint, NOW, in the new emergency. Let funds pour in as in 1922-23. The need is very great. The money is carefully and economically raised and used. From the beginning in 1922 up to Jan. 1, 1925, the total amount raised was \$387,787.14, the total used for direct defense expenses—attorney's fee and expenses, printing of briefs and records and other legal expenses was \$27,456.62. Other expenses, administrative and for the collection of funds was \$50,146.00. This latter sum, about 35 percent covers the entire cost of printing, publicity, leaflets, folders, pamphlets, advertising, etc. as well as rent, postage, circularizing, wages, etc. and is low considering the results accomplished.

The financial statement for the quarter ending Dec. 31, 1924 follows:

RECEIPTS:	
National Defense Fund W. P.	\$1850.00
Chicago Branch L. D. C.	773.49
Unions and fraternal Soc.	655.24
Finnish Federation	504.89
South Slavic Organizations	433.37
Individuals	427.43
Buttons, coupons and lists	210.50
Interest on Bonds—deposited as before	238.74
W. P. branches & L. D. C. Locals	112.57
Balance, Sept 30, 1924	\$5000.23
	\$44.94
	\$5045.17
DISBURSEMENTS:	
Collection of Funds—Printing, postage, publicity, adv. etc.	\$1118.79
Adv. Expenses—Rent, light, wages, phone, supplies, etc.	1134.14
Legal Expenses—Attorneys fees, printing of briefs, other cost	3008.57
Loans on Bail Security	450.00
Balance Dec. 31, 1924	\$5711.50
	233.67
	\$5945.17
Fraternal submitted, George Maurer, Sec'y.	

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DELAY MEANS DECAY

CHANGE OF PLACE FOR Y. W. L. MEETING AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

The location of the general membership meeting of all Young Workers League members in Cleveland has been changed. The meeting, which is of the greatest importance to every Young Workers League member in Cleveland, will be held in Gardina Hall, 6021 St. Clair St. A member of the national executive committee of the Young Workers League will present the position of the national executive committee and any comrades representing any other viewpoint will be given equal time to present their viewpoint on the activity and policies of the league.

Every member must attend this meeting or they will not be considered in good standing. Admission will be by card only.

"Polikushka" is coming to Gertner's Independent Theater, Jan. 15.

Build the DAILY WORKER!

A LOS ANGELES INVITATION

You are cordially invited to the

First Birthday Party

of America's only Revolutionary Working Class Paper

THE DAILY WORKER

which will be held

Tuesday Evening, January 13, at 8 P. M.

Brooklyn Hall

CORNER SOTO AND BROOKLYN

Daily Worker Committee, English Br., W. P.

Culture Work

BAZAAR

For the professional schools in Russia and Ukraine, will be held at

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You will hardly believe it, yet the little printer's devil, who makes life miserable in our shop, also insists on attending

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He expects the full social privileges of a real printer. The shop nucleus has granted him permission to make his social debut.

The printers also will attend and for this once only, will allow themselves to be seen with the editors.

Supper Will Be Served Without Charge

They will also enjoy the dancing, music, games and stunts on

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Three Lectures by
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Jan. 19—Getting Mortgages on Europe.

Jan. 26—Can Imperialists Rebuild Civilization?

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Advertising rates on application

Honor the Spartacists

The Communists of America are honoring on this Sunday the memory of Karl Liebknecht and of his comrade in life and death, Rosa Luxemburg, both lion-hearted leaders of the Spartacus Bund, which carried on the spearheads of its few but valiant lances the star of proletarian revolution thru the midnight of confusion and betrayal, into which the German working class was plunged by traitorous social-democrats at the end of the world war.

These traitors, who have fathomed the nethermost depths of political and ethical decadence and counter-revolution, on January 15, 1919, jointly with monarchist officers who acted under their orders, murdered in the most cowardly and ghastly brutal fashion Liebknecht and Luxemburg, while they were formally under arrest, helpless, unarmed and cut off from their comrades.

Karl Liebknecht! How your name rang the whole world around in those days after August 4, 1914! Son of a fighting sire, old Wilhelm Liebknecht, comrade and friend of Marx, even your training of years, to abide by the unit rule in the parliamentary bloc, and the fact that you stood alone against the whole fraction of 110 deputies of the social-democratic party in the reichstag of the kaiser, could not keep you, after the surprise of the first vote on war credits, from crying out above the tempest: "The workers have no Fatherland, and no enemy but capitalism!"

In the reichstag Karl Liebknecht launched a daring crusade against the imperialist war. His speeches, protected by parliamentary immunity, rang out around the world, and in the armies of France—Germany's legendary foe—the conscripts murmured his name in veneration of that power which they instinctively knew was the only power to save their class from world slaughter—the power of the social revolution. And under many a spiked German helmet Liebknecht was a name loved but forbidden.

When expelled for violating the decision of the traitorous social-democratic party to support the war, he answered: "Mightier ties of discipline bind me—those of international solidarity."

When the kaiser conscripted him and sent him to serve on the eastern front, he addressed a tremendous crowd in Berlin on May Day, 1916, and openly called for armed revolt. A sentence of four years followed his immediate arrest. (How light the kaiser was beside the savage sentence given Ruthenberg by American "democracy".)

But the wave of revolution which he had unleashed, released Liebknecht in October, 1918, and he at once took the fighting position of the Communist guided minority who, recalling the memory of the great gladiator that led the mutiny against Rome, termed themselves Spartacists and began an armed struggle against the class collaborationists of the social-democracy who turned the infant Soviets into the paralyzing substitute *Betriebsräte*.

Liebknecht—and Luxemburg—was again arrested and lodged in a military prison in the west end of Berlin. On January 15, 1919, they were ordered transferred by motor car, under guard, to the Moabit prison, but on the road they were brutally murdered by their guards in a lonely spot in the Tiergarten. The socialists have seen that the assassins escaped with a light term in jail. Liebknecht is dead, but in the coming German revolution the workers will fight for power with his name upon their lips.

The Gang Was All There

In what was admitted to be the first test of strength for Coolidge since the election, the strike-breaker administration won its fight to prevent the postal workers from getting a decent wage. Silent Cal is letting it be known in deeds, not words, that he regards his election as a mandate to crush labor into serfdom if the power of government can do it.

Of course, the postal workers are still too timid and bound to a tradition of servility to take a strike vote and let the autocrat in the White House see what would happen to the sacred cow of "business interests." The damned critter would, we imagine, wrinkle up and die. But they ought, at least, to have an eye open as to who are the enemies of the workers.

If the postal workers—or the workers generally—for example, will survey the whole capitalist system with an analytical gaze, they would see that they are foolish to depend upon anything but their own organized power to get decent treatment out of a government which is but the executive committee of the whole ruling class. Losing their case by one vote has a suspicious air about it. It is like a man sentenced to be hanged and who upon appeal, is told that out of the nine judges of the supreme court, four were willing to let him live,

but five upheld the sentence. It sounds like the poor devil got a "fair and impartial" trial, but the net result is that he gets a broken neck. The "dissenting opinion" of the four judges fail to save his life.

But when the postal wage bill was up in the senate, how brilliant was the example of Coolidge's savage aim to keep the working class from getting one penny more of wages out of the enormous fortunes piled up by the capitalist class of this country. He had rallied all the bloated, overfed and semi-moribund old senators, half of whom are always absent from their benches in ordinary times, to attendance and support against the postal workers. Only two senators were absent on the final roll call.

And what a lovely steering committee Calvin had. Senator Curtis, the senate "whip," was everywhere, working every minute right up to the roll call, urging the doddering old imbeciles to stand fast for reaction against any appeal from voters in their constituencies. They stood.

In the republican cloakroom sat Secretary Weeks of the war department, to whom the hesitant and weak were brought for divine guidance. And if this were not enough, the reports tell us that "Mr. Butler of Massachusetts was always within call."

Mr. Butler, you must remember, is the president of the Textile Manufacturers Association, which is trying to force a ten per cent cut of wages upon all workers of that industry. Mr. Butler is the same multimillionaire who hired a swarm of Sherman detectives to spy upon his mill workers in New Bedford and even to worm themselves into the unions. The Mr. Butler who did both of these things and who was "always within call" to help crush the postal workers' wage demand, is the same Mr. Butler who was the campaign manager for Coolidge.

The gang was all there. And such a precious gang it was. If only the postal and other workers would elect a real Communist into that assembly of senile corporation lawyers we would guarantee, not a successful wage raise, but a thoro exposure of the most reactionary gang of capitalist henchmen who ever gathered in any parliament in the world.

The Chicago Elections

The Workers (Communist) Party has entered the local aldermanic elections in Chicago. The law says the candidates must be non-partisan. Like the primary law this provision is another one of those typically American political pretensions calculated to fool the masses into the notion they have democratic control over "their" governmental institutions. So that the nine candidates endorsed by the Workers (Communist) Party are, before the law, partyless.

But when you read the program upon which the candidates are running you will discover that each and every one is a Communist.

The democratic and republican aldermanic candidates are raising issues. They are the usual municipal issues concerning schools, traction, building, etc. They are issues that are almost invariably forgotten outside election time. They are raised primarily to give the two old fake parties something to fight with each other about.

The platform of the Communist candidates has something to say about these issues also. It has very important things to say about every phase of municipal life. It says things that the other parties would not and cannot say. The Communist candidates don't look upon these issues as merely convenient grounds upon which to disagree with political opponents. Nor do they merely take a negative stand because these issues have been raised by capitalist parties.

They say that the problems of schools, traction, unemployment and building vitally concern the working class of Chicago. And they have taken a stand on every point raised in the campaign.

They say that the city shall take over all transportation lines with workers' control. They say that the administration of school affairs shall be conducted by joint councils of teachers, parents and students. They say that the "Chicago Beautiful Plan" shall be turned into a plan to make homes for workers. They not only say what to do on all local questions, but they point out as well how it can be done.

The Communist aldermanic candidates in Chicago have a practical program. It is a practical program because it is based on the coming to power of the working class. It is, thruout, a working class platform for which every worker can vote without fear of being either reformist or posterous. It is a Communist program.

Warren S. Stone, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, manager of the Coal Rivers Collieries and editor of the Locomotive Engineers' Journal, has served notice on the former employees of his scab coal properties that they must immediately vacate the houses they occupy in Boone county, West Va. "Progressive" reporters in Cleveland, attached to Stone's payroll, but "influenced" by filthy lucre, might find something to report in this.

The Russian workers would not object to Ford sending a fleet of flivvers over there provided they did not carry a human cargo. Fertilizer is by no means the scarcest commodity in Russia. White guards may be valuable where lots of dung is needed.

The American dollar is now worth only 58 cents, taking the 1913 dollar as a standard, according to the results of a survey made by the chief statistician of the International Typographical Union. Why call it a dollar any longer?

PEASANTS EAGER TO LEARN NEW FARM METHODS

Priests Regard Tractors as "Black Magic"

(Special to The Daily Worker)
WILMINGTON, Dela., Jan. 9.—Harold Ware, recently returned from Russia, where he carried on agriculture work for three years under the auspices of the international welfare association, spoke here at a meeting of the Society of Friends. Ware said that with the exception of the priests, who regarded the tractors as black magic, and bitterly opposed the bringing in of this advanced method of farming, they were "met with the heartiest of co-operation at every place." The priests preached to the peasants to keep away from the tractors, but the peasants were quick to see the advantages to be gained and eagerly learned as much as they could about the new method in farming.

Ware said: "An example of their co-operation was manifested when they first began in the spring of 1922. At that time the Soviet government gave us a concession of three farms in southeastern Russia, and we began work with two shifts a day of seven hours each. Being afraid to leave the machines in their hands, we were forced to work the entire fourteen hours ourselves. When the peasants saw that we were working the full time they immediately held a meeting—which is one of the best things they can do—and unanimously decided that since we were there to help them and were working fourteen hours a day, they would also work the same length of time."

"Their eagerness for learning is astonishing for people who have been kept in ignorance for so many centuries. Not from the professional men did we receive so much aid as we did from the peasants. These seem to realize the situation that faces them and want to prepare themselves to meet it."

"As our work kept us largely in the small farming villages of southeastern Russia, we had little chance to see what impression our work was having on the rest of the country, but when we visited Moscow in the fall, we found the warmest welcome awaiting us. The people there seemed to regard us as living gods who were proving a salvation to them from the famine that strikes them every seven years."

Ku Klux Klan Is Strong in Indiana State Legislature

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. Jan. 9.—The Ku klux Klan, candidate for speaker of the Indiana lower house, George W. Freeman of Kokomo, was defeated by Harry G. Leslie of Otterbein here today. The Klan candidate ran strong and had more votes than James Knapp, of Hagerstown.

The Ku klux Klan will have much to say in the making of Indiana's laws during the term of governor-elect Jackson, the strength showed by the Klan in the election of speaker reveals.

Bosses Defy Night Work Ban.
PASSAIC, N. J., Jan. 9.—Reports made to the New Jersey commissioner of labor show that four woolen manufacturers are defying the law against night labor for women between 10 p. m. and 6 p. m., which went into effect Jan. 1. The defiant manufacturers are the Botany Worsted Mills, Forestmass & Haffmann Co., Gera Mills, members of the Industrial Council of Passaic Wool Manufacturers.

The mill owners are acting on advice of counsel, it is said. They declare the law against night work for women unconstitutional.

Chauffeurs Sign Agreement.
ST. LOUIS, Mo., Jan. 9.—The St. Louis taxicab drivers gained two extra days a month off in their new agreement. The regular scale of wages of \$23.50 remains, but they demanded a raise to \$23.50 and the owners threatened to cut their wages to \$25. These chauffeurs are 100 per cent unionized with more than 110 members. This is one of the few cities in the country where the Yellow Cabs were forced to recognize the union.

Who Will Win?
ST. LOUIS, Jan. 9.—Negroes were denied membership here in the Order of the Moose. A group of St. Louis Negroes organized a colored branch and named it the Paramount Progressive Order of the Moose. This brought a temporary restraining order against the Negroes by the whites' Order of the Moose. St. Louis is heavily populated by Negroes, many of whom are on the police force, in the fire department and mail service. The outcome of this is being watched here.

Millions in Profits for Packers.
Swift and company, meat packers, took in \$14,125,987.74 in net profits after paying off interest and depreciation, the financial statement submitted to the 40th annual meeting of shareholders show. The surplus profits were listed at \$2,125,987.74, as compared to \$63,973,827.36, the previous year.

"In Memoriam—Lenin" to be shown Jan. 15 at Gartner's Theater.

The Workers Party in Action

CHICAGO PARTY ACTIVITIES

THE aldermanic election, Feb. 24, was the main feature of the last city central committee meeting of the Workers Party Local Chicago. A complete report on candidates entered, wards organized for activity, petitions out was presented. The conduct, organization and policy of the campaign were outlined.

The election campaign will connect itself readily with large national activities initiated by the central executive committee of the Workers (Communist) Party, such as child labor, release of class war prisoners, especially in connection with the recent Ruthenberg conviction, unemployment, abolition of the injunction, education, etc. Resolutions to be introduced in trade unions and other working class organizations in connection with the campaign are being prepared. Members shall be on the job in their organizations to put them over.

This is a so-called non-partisan campaign, that is the party label does not appear. However, all candidates of the party will state the full position of the Workers (Communist) Party. The organization committee in elections will take these matters up extensively.

Program for Election Adopted.

A program for the election submitted by Comrades Swaback, Gomez and Abern was adopted by the city central committee. This is being printed in full in the DAILY WORKER. A digest of the program will be made for wide leaflet distribution thruout the city in the shops and houses. Full details in connection with the campaign are reported in other columns of the DAILY WORKER.

Comrades must get on the job to put our candidates on the ballot by securing the necessary number of signatures.

Industrial Activity Noted.

Comrade Bell reported on the industrial activity pointing out that the left wing had made excellent gains in the recent elections in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and were crystallizing left wing forces. A left wing slate of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was thrown out by reactionaries. A campaign is being initiated by our comrades in this connection. Building Laborers are issuing a leaflet in conjunction with their industry. (Building Trades group meets every first Sunday of month at 722 Blue Island Ave.)

Metal Trades have put up a complete left wing slate (See DAILY WORKER). They have gotten on.

Pittsburgh Jewish Branch Unanimous For Majority Theses

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Jan. 9.—The Jewish branch of the Workers Party of Pittsburgh, Pa. at its last meeting voted unanimously for the majority thesis of the C. E. C. This branch is one of the most active branches of the party, and last year was very active in the farmer-labor movement. The branch was well represented at the general membership meeting on Jan. 4 and helped swell the votes of the majority.

The membership of the branch is about 100. The members of the branch were pleased with the discussion held last Sunday by Comrades Bittelman and Bedacht.

Verona South-Slavic Branch Is Unanimous For Minority Theses

VERONA, Pa., Jan. 9.—The South Slavic branch of Verona at its last meeting thoroughly discussed the theses of the majority and minority in the party discussion by first listening to a speaker from each side and then following by discussion by the members. It was then taken to a vote which resulted in unanimous support of the minority theses.

Chicago Comrades Attention.

All comrades and friends are invited to the concert given at the Freiheit Singing Society Hall, 3337 Roosevelt Road, on Saturday evening, Jan. 17. A good musical program has been prepared.

Dancing will follow the musical program from 11 to 1 o'clock. The Young Workers' League orchestra will play. The concert and dance will be held under the auspices of the local Jewish propaganda committee of the Young Workers' League.

Argue Dictatorship in Labor Temple.
TORONTO, J. W. Buckley, representative of the American Federation of Labor, is not in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He so expressed himself at a meeting in the Toronto labor temple and this brought interruptions of emphatic dissent from many present. The meeting was under the auspices of the Canadian labor party.

Approve Big Chicago Budget.

The city council finance committee approved a budget of \$45,000,000 for this year's corporate purposes, at a session early today. Last year's appropriation was \$46,172,708.

dorsements in Locals 390 and 337. The next Metal Trades Bulletin will deal with the election and its issues. Comrades are conducting a good fight in Local 181, Carpenters, to re-instate expelled members. Barbers' election returns not in yet.

National T. U. E. L. has issued rules for the T. U. E. L. and how to conduct the work. Material sent to all local groups and branches. Study these carefully so that you will know how to conduct your work in the trade unions.

Young Workers' League is calling meetings of various trades in an effort to get all its members working in those trades and who have not as yet joined a union, to become members of trade unions and active in T. U. E. L.

New Members Must Attend Class.

City central committee adopted a motion that all new members of the party must attend two lectures on the program of the Workers Party in charge of Comrade A. Henderson, beginning Jan. 13 and further that no applicant shall receive his membership card unless these have been attended.

37 New Members Accepted.

Thirty-seven new members were accepted into the party at the city central committee from the following branches and nuclei:

Lake View Scandinavian 5, Czechoslovak Town of Lake 1, Ukrainian No. 1, 1; Lithuanian No. 2, 2; South Slavic No. 1, 2; Northwest Jewish 4, Englishwood English 1, Douglas Park English 7, Mid-City English 3, Bulgarian 1, Czechoslovak No. 1, 1; South Side English 1, Finnish 4, Nucleus No. 3, 3; Lithuanian No. 5, 1; Polish North Side 1.

Shop Nucleus No. 6 made up of railroad workers organized. Red reveal committee on the job for Feb. 28. Comrades will have to be very much on the job now in Labor Defense Council activities in view of the conviction of Comrade Ruthenberg.

Lenin memorial meeting, Wednesday, Jan. 21, 8 p. m. in Ashland Auditorium. Tickets have been sent to all active comrades. Date of next city central committee will be announced later, inasmuch as the Lenin memorial meeting falls on the night of the city central committee meeting which has for that reason been called off.

There is good progress being made in every field in the party. United efforts of the comrades will bring even better results. On with the job of Bolshevizing the party and building a mass Communist Party.

Martin Abern, Secretary.

Next Sunday Night and Every Sunday Night, The Open Forum.

COMMUNIST-CHILDREN-COLUMN

N. Y. JUNIORS HOLD MEMBERSHIP MEETING DISCUSSING PAST WORK AND MAKING PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

(Special to The Daily Worker)
NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 9.—The Junior Section of the Young Workers League here held a general membership meeting at the headquarters of the John Reed (Downtown) group, 105 Eldridge street. In spite of the bad weather and the insufficiency of the preparation, more than 160 juniors were present at this meeting which represents about 25 to 30 per cent of our membership.

The meeting was opened by Comrade Morris Spectof, the city organizer of the Junior Section, and the greetings of the D. E. C. and of the leaders' committee were presented by Comrade Anna Thompson, the district junior director. Comrade Martin Gross of the Red Guard (Williamsburg) group was elected chairman and Esther Gross (of the same group) the city secretary, remained secretary for the meeting.

The general report for the junior section of New York was given by the city organizer, Morris Spectof of the Foster (Brownsville) group. He gave a general review of the work of the past few months, emphasized the necessity for more school work and for a greater participation in the school struggle, complained of our low literature sales and our laxity in dues payment, and finally presented a sketch of the work in the future, going into some detail on the matter of new groups to be organized. The discussion on the organizers' report was lively, resolving itself finally into a spirited debate on the question of further organization. The report was finally referred to the C. C. of the junior section and to the leaders' committee for action.

Reports were then presented on school work and school units, on the installation of the proposed prefecture system, and finally on the program and arrangements for Liebknecht day. The latter part of the meeting was taken up with the final preparations, under the supervision of Comrade Miriam Silverfarb, leader of the Trotsky (Lower Bronx) group, for the participation of the Junior section in the Liebknecht memorial meeting.

The following resolution was passed unanimously, Jan. 3, 1925: Whereas, the report of our city organizer has shown that the further development of our existing groups and the organization of new groups in the city depends in the first place, upon the co-operation we are going to obtain from the Y. W. L. and the W. P. in the matter of providing us with leaders and other comrades to help us in our work, therefore—

Be It Resolved, that we make this special appeal to the members of the Y. W. L.—especially to the members of the English-speaking branches—to pay attention to junior work; to organize their junior committees; to aid in every way the junior leaders in their section; and finally and most important, to see to it that at least two or three comrades of each branch take up junior work as their major activity, and become junior leaders. A copy of this resolution to be sent to the Freiheit, the Young Worker, the Young Comrade, the DAILY WORKER, and to the D. E. C. of the Y. W. L. district two, for transmission to the branches.

Morris Spectof, City Organizer, Esther Gross, City Secretary.

NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE MEMBERS BELONG IN W. P.

Majority of Them Are Working Farmers

By A. C. MILLER.
Communist Member of the North Dakota State Legislature.

BISMARCK, N. D., Jan. 9.—Judging by the general make-up of the non-partisan league members in both houses of the legislature, realizing what their economic conditions are, they should all belong to the Workers (Communist) Party. All of them voted for LaFollette in the last election, thinking that he represented their interests, while as a matter of fact he did nothing of the kind. The business and banking interests of the state, that safely could have supported LaFollette, on the other hand voted for Coolidge.

In listening to the conversation of league members one gets the idea that they are ready to do a whole lot of injury to the exploiters of the farmers, but whether this will materialize or not remains to be seen. The compromise and political trading in the senate does not show much fighting ability and the agreement on committee assignments is not going to be to the interest of the financial operation of the state industries.

The nonpartisan league has a safe workable majority in the house. The large majority of them are working farmers and they are sincere and honest in their efforts to better the economic conditions of themselves and their class. However, mere honesty and sincerity will not save us from our exploiters if we employ the wrong principles and tactics. It is the private business system that is faulty and we must educate and organize to do away with it and establish the farmers' and workers' system.

Bills and resolutions of a working class character that really mean something, like the recognition of Soviet Russia, ratification of child labor amendment and taxing of high incomes to pay for the education of children of workers and poor farmers, the levying of a half tax of all tillable land in the state, should receive the enthusiastic and whole-hearted support of all farmer members of the legislature.

Flying Lieutenant in Court.
NEW YORK, Jan. 9.—Lieutenant James Hutchinson, of the army air service, went on trial today by general court martial, charged with flying a plane so low over Broadway that passing pedestrians were terrified. The trial is being conducted at Governor's Island.

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION

This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

January 10, 1925.

Bolshevism or Trotskyism? By G. Zinoviev

Some Facts Regarding Brest and the First Party Conference After October.

The Differences of Opinion in October and My Mistake at That Time.

TO replace Leninism by Trotskyism, that is the task which Comrade Trotsky has set out to accomplish. In this respect he had already in 1922 in his book "1905," attempted "to attain something by allusions." So long as Comrade Lenin held the threads in his hand, Comrade Trotsky decided not to undertake a direct attack. Comrade Trotsky has now obviously decided that "the moment has arrived." According to all the rules of strategy, before one strikes the decisive blow, one must prepare the way by artillery fire. The attack upon the so-called right wing of Bolshevism is intended as a smoke-screen, particularly regarding the October failures of the writer of these lines.

It is an actual fact that at the beginning of November, 1917, I committed a great error. This error was freely admitted by me and made good in the course of a few days. As, however, these days were not ordinary days but very fateful days, as this was a time of extreme tension the error was highly dangerous.

In any event I will not minimize the extent of this error.

It was precisely because of the extraordinary tension of these times that Vladimir Ilyich so energetically opposed our error. All these extremely draconic punitive measures, which he at that time proposed against us, all the passionate chastising which he inflicted, were of course thoroughly justified. In the shortest time after these events, some weeks afterward, at the commencement of the disputes over the Brest peace, Vladimir Ilyich, as the whole C. C. and all the leading circles of the party are aware, regarded these differences of opinion as completely liquidated.

In his speech on "Trotskyism or Leninism," Comrade Stalin very rightly remarks that in the September-October period as a result of a number of circumstances, the revolution endeavored to carry out every step under the form of defence. This was to be understood after all the shilly shally connected with the Kornilov period. I, who at that time, was living illegally, fell a victim to my failure precisely owing to this peculiarity of that phase of October.

When Comrade Lenin reverted to our error, three years after it had been committed, he wrote as follows:

"Immediately before the October revolution, and soon afterwards, a number of excellent Communists in Russia committed errors, of which one does not like to be reminded. Why not? Because it is not right except on a special occasion, to refer to such errors, which have been completely made good. They showed hesitations in the period in question in that they feared that the Bolsheviks would isolate themselves and undertake too great a risk in holding aloof too much from a certain section of the mensheviks and of the social revolutionaries. The conflict went so far that the comrades in question, as a demonstration, resigned from all responsible posts, both in the party and in the Soviets, to the greatest joy of the enemies of the social revolution. The matter led to the most bitter polemics in the press on the part of the C. C. of our party against those who had resigned. And after some weeks, at the most after some months, all these comrades perceived their

errors and returned to their responsible posts in the party and the Soviets." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume XVII, Page 373.)

Comrade Lenin makes no reference whatever to a "right" wing.

For myself, I endeavored more than once, before the party and before the whole Comintern, to deal with my error. I spoke of it, for example at the opening of the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern, which took place on the fourth anniversary of October, as follows:

"Allow me to say a word regarding a personal matter. It seems to me that I, particularly now on the fourth anniversary of the revolution, am called upon to say that which I am about to say. You are aware comrades that five years ago I, along with some other comrades, made a great mistake, which, as I believe, was the greatest mistake I have ever made in my life. At that time I failed to estimate correctly the whole counter-revolutionary nature of the mensheviks. Therein lies the nature of our mistake before October, 1917. Although we had fought against the mensheviks for over ten years, nevertheless, I, as well as many other comrades, could not at the decisive moment get rid of the idea that the mensheviks and social-revolutionists, although they were only the right fraction and the right wing, nevertheless formed a portion of the working class. As a matter of fact they were and are the 'left,' extremely skillful, pliable and therefore especially dangerous wing of the international bourgeoisie. I therefore believe, comrades, that it is our duty to remind all our comrades . . . etc."

I spoke of our error in the most widely circulated book from my pen, in the "History of the Russian Communist Party," and on numerous earlier occasions.

To consider the writer of these lines as belonging to the "right wing" of the Bolsheviks, is simply absurd. The whole of the Bolshevik party is aware that I, working hand in hand with Comrade Lenin in the course of nearly 20 years, never once had even a sharp difference of opinion with him, except in the one case mentioned. The epoch of the years 1914-1917, from the commencement of the imperialist war up to the commencement of the proletarian revolution in our country, was a not unimportant epoch. Precisely in these years there took place the decisive regrouping in the camp of the international labor movement. The books "Socialism and War" (1915) and "Against the Stream" are sufficient witness that during that time I in no way came forward as representative of a right wing of bolshevism.

At the April conference of 1917, the importance of which Comrade Trotsky misrepresents, I had not the smallest difference of opinion with Comrade Lenin. In the dispute between Comrade Trotsky on the one side and comrades Kamenev, Nogin and Rykov on the other side, I was wholly on the side of Comrade Lenin, as was to be seen from a number of my reports and speeches at the April conference. The whole dispute was naturally confined within the limits of bolshevism—as Comrade Lenin and the party regarded it—and only under the pen of Comrade Trotsky does it assume the form of a struggle of a "right wing" against the party.

Not the least differences of opinion occurred between myself and Comrade Lenin during and after the July days. We had the opportunity to test this at our leisure in the course of several weeks as long as I lived together with Vladimir Ilyich in hiding. The first

difference of opinion was noticed by me at the beginning of October, after the liquidation of the Kornilov period, after the article of Comrade Lenin "On Compromises." (In this article Lenin proposes, under certain conditions, an agreement with the mensheviks and the social revolutionists.) My error consisted in the fact that I endeavored to continue the line of the article "On Compromises" some days later. In all only a few days, but the days at that time counted as months.

In the famous sitting of the Central Committee of the 10th of October, at which the revolt was decided on, and at which for the first time differences of opinion regarding the time to be fixed for the revolt and as to judging the prospects in the Constitutional Assembly arose between me and Kamenev on the one side and the rest of the members of the C. C. on the other side, the first political bureau of the C. C. for the leadership of the revolt was created. The seven following comrades were elected to this political bureau: Lenin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Stalin, Sokolnikov and Bubnov. In the no less important joint meeting of the Central Committee and a number of Petrograd functionaries on the 16th of October, after the debates between Comrade Lenin and ourselves, 19 votes were cast for the motion of Comrade Lenin in its final form; 2 were against and 4 neutral; while my motion was introduced by Comrade Volodarsky as an amendment to the motion of Comrade Lenin. My amendment read that "in the next five days before meeting our comrades and before discussion we must not arrange any revolt." My written motion, which was submitted to the vote at this meeting, read: "Without postponing the measures for investigation and preparation, it is decided that no action be permitted before consultation with the bolshevik section of the Soviet congress."

It was at this time that Comrade Lenin wrote his famous articles against us. I continued to work diligently for the Pravda. When the action was finally decided on, in order to silence the exaggerated rumours which had appeared in the press regarding our differences I wrote a short letter to the editor which was published by the central organ with a comment of the editor that the dispute was ended and that in essentials we were and remained of one mind. ("Pravda," 21st November, 1917.)

The unsigned leading article which appeared in our central organ "Rabotshi Put" (The Path of the Workers), which appeared in place of Pravda, on the day of the revolt October 25, was written by me. The second article was likewise written by me and was signed by me. In this last article we read:

"It is a great task which confronts the second Soviet congress. The events of history are followed each other with breathless speed. The final hour is approaching. The least further hesitation brings the danger of immediate collapse. . . ."

"The last hopes for a peaceful solution of the crisis are past. The last peaceful hopes which—I must confess—up to the last days were cherished by the writer of these lines have been dispelled by facts."

"All Power to the Soviets.—It is here that everything is being concentrated at the present historical moment."

In the number of our central organ "Rabotshi Put" which appeared on October 26, a short report was published of my first speech after the period of illegality in the sitting of the Petrograd Soviet of October 25, the day of the revolt. Here we read as

follows:

The Speech of Zinoviev.

"Comrades, we are now in the period of revolt. I believe however that no doubt can exist regarding the outcome of the revolt—we shall be victorious!"

"I am convinced that the overwhelming portion of the peasantry will come over to our side as soon as they become acquainted with our proposals regarding the land question."

"Long live the social revolution which is now beginning. Long live the Petrograd working class who still achieve the final victory!"

"Today we have paid our debt to the international proletariat and delivered a terrible blow to the war, a blow at the breast of all imperialists, the greatest blow at the breast of the hangman Wilhelm."

"Down with the war: Long live international peace!"

Sharp differences arose in our circle again in the first days of November (according to old calendar) at the moment when the right social-revolutionists and mensheviks were already shattered and when it was the question whether we would not succeed in bringing over the left social-revolutionists and the best section of the mensheviks to the side of the Soviet power. In these days I had to take part with other comrades in the famous negotiations with the then existing organization of the railwaymen. These negotiations led to a complete agreement of the central committee of our party with the then central executive committee of the workers' and peasants' councils. These differences lasted actually from two to three days, but during this time they were exceedingly heated.

On the 2nd of November, 1917, the central committee of our party, in the presence of Comrade Lenin, adopted a resolution which, among other things, stated:

"The central committee confirms that, without having excluded anybody from the Second Soviet Congress—it is even now fully prepared to note the return of the Soviet members who have resigned (as is known the right social-revolutionists and the mensheviks withdrew from the Second Soviet Congress) and to recognize the coalition with those who have withdrawn from the Soviets, that therefore the assertions that the Bolsheviks will not share power with anybody are absolutely devoid of all foundation."

"The central committee confirms that on the day of the formation of the present government, a few hours before its formation, it invited to its session three representatives of the left social-revolutionists and formally invited them to participate in the government. The refusal of the left social-revolutionists, even tho it was only limited to a certain time and subject to certain conditions, places on them the full responsibility for the agreement not being arrived at."—(Pravda, No. 130 v. 4-17 Nov., 1917.)

This paragraph of the resolution, which was doubtless written by Comrade Lenin, must be specially noted by the reader in order the better to understand that which follows:

In the Pravda (the central organ of our party was on the 30th of October again named the Pravda), we read in No. 139 of Nov. 4 the following extract from my speech which I delivered at the session of the central executive committee of the social-revolutionists and of the social-democrats on Nov. 2, 1917:

"In the name of the central committee of the Russian social-democratic labor party (at that time our

(Continued on page 6)

Sixth All-Russian Trade Union Congress

Comrade Zinoviev's Speech Delivered at the Sixth All-Russian Trade Union Congress.

(Concluded from last Saturday)

Relations Between Workers and Peasants.

Here too we are not faced with the necessity of adopting new theses. That which is fundamental remains the same as it was drawn up by the hand of Lenin, but there is something new in the political and economic situation that you, the leaders of the organized working class of our country must consider first of all. Comrade Lenin taught our party and the comrades working in the trade union movement that he is not a Bolshevik who thinks of the workers only, but he is a Bolshevik who thinks of the entire country and feels himself to be the giant of the revolution, the leader, its basic force. Here at the congress we have to take a decision not on the tasks of the labor policy in general, but of the tasks of the labor policy in a peasant country, and you will have to map out your fundamental policy not as merely as trade union policy but as the policy of the working class in a peasant country. Only then will the question be solved in a truly Bolshevik instead of lifeless manner.

Our congress should map out the basic principles of this policy, remembering that we are effecting a dictatorship in a country predominantly peasant. It would have been the worst kind of craft unionism, were our trade union workers to consider these questions from a purely "workers'" point of view. You would get a workers' point of view in quotes, and since the working class governs the country, since it is holding the dictatorship in a peasant country, it must effect a wise dictatorship, it must effect such a dictatorship that would be accepted by the overwhelming majority of the peasants, it must act as the master of the entire country, and not think as a craft unionist defending his own craft. Therein lies the fundamental difference between Leninism, Bolshevism and craft unionism. We are members of trade unions, i. e., of the organizations of our trade, but we are not trade unionists in the sense that we stand for our craft only, we are not mensheviks in politics, we are members of trade unions, but we are Bolsheviks, we feel ourselves a class holding supreme power, we must feel ourselves a class pursuing its policy in a peasant country, and here our congress finds itself in a situation that is new to some extent.

"Jealousy" of the Workers.

We observe a certain kind of jealousy of the workers on the part of the peasants, something that we did not observe before or that was observable in quite a different form. In some places we even have mutual jealousy on the part of some backward groups of workers towards the peasants. However, this feeling is particularly dangerous among the peasants, and it crops up sometimes, being based upon the class division in the village; it is displayed by the rich peasants who are interested in stirring up hatred for the workers among the peasants.

We have in our country two classes, or perhaps two classes plus an appendix, a fraction. This appendix consists of the remnants of the old bourgeoisie, of the embryonic new city bourgeoisie, of a part of the bourgeois intelligencia, who hate us organically. Of course, this semi-class is discontented, it is jealous of the workers and of the Soviet power, but they are of no danger. We do not have to worry about them. They will wait as long as necessary.

The difficulties do not lie here, but in the inter-relationships of the two main classes, the working class and the peasantry. Here the least friction of one degree might give us a big deflection, and here you must keep your eyes wide open. We must remember this sentiment of the peasantry.

Trade Unionism and the Bolshevik

Attitude Towards the Village.

We must stop short every trade

unionist who looks down upon the village, who thinks he is not concerned with the village. It is a narrow trade unionist who does not understand that we are located on the border between two classes and that we have decided upon a world historic task, both in our own country and on a world scale. Therefore, comrades, we have no right to evade this question. There is, of course, something in the sentiment of a part of the peasantry which we cannot concede under any circumstances. No doubt there are peasants who think that the eight-hour day is a luxury; "I work 16 hours during harvest time—they think—why should the worker work only eight hours?" Can we make any concession on this question? Under no circumstances can we do so. There are questions in which we can not give in to the prejudices of the peasants, for they are only prejudices, and the peasantry must grow up and understand that the eight-hour day is the basis of the workers' economy and promotes the welfare of the country, including also the peasants' welfare. There are a number of questions on which the workers can not and should not, under any circumstances, give way to the prejudices of the backward peasantry and there can be no question of giving in on this matter.

However, there is a group of questions arousing the just discontent of the peasants, over which we must do some thinking. The first question is that of prices. Now, frequently, separate groups of peasants say: "We give bread to the workers at pre-war prices; tell us, when will you give us city products at pre-war prices?" To-day only separate groups of peasants are saying these things, tomorrow the entire peasantry may be saying them. This is a question which cannot and should not be evaded by the Sixth Trade Union Congress, it is a question that stood in the center of the attention at the plenary meeting of the central committee of our party the other day, and which should engage the attention of such an important congress as is yours. You cannot back out of it. This one is not a prejudice of the peasants.

Of course we must explain to the peasant why the question of prices is not so easily solved, why the war and the blockade ruined the city economy more than the village (all this can and should be said by us) but it must be remembered that this question is knocking at the door, and we cannot disregard it. It will return to us in its varied form. The peasant will put this question before us, and I think that it will be useless for us to hide our heads, we must clearly see that which is new in our political and economic fields, and remember that not much time is allowed us in this question. Already at the Eleventh Congress of our party Vladimir Ilitch told us about it. It is necessary to use all the forces of the workers and of the party, of the trade unions and of the managing boards to push this question ahead to find a satisfactory answer to it, to show the peasants that we really want to meet their demands. Of course, the solution of this question will require a certain amount of time.

The question of land improvement in the village also requires much time. However, there are questions that can be solved much quicker, and this depends entirely upon us.

What Sort of a Soviet Apparatus Does the Village Need?

We must set up in the village a real Soviet power, an honest cultural sober Soviet power without graft, without moonshine, a power such as we now have in the principal centers of the labor movement. We did not have an easy time even in establishing it in these principal centers. You remember how, two or three years ago, we had to stop our meetings by apologizing to the workers for the fact that all sorts of outcasts and adventurers wormed themselves into our

party and the Soviet institutions. In the city the apparatus has been put more or less into order, and that only more or less. In the village we have not even accomplished this.

Recall, for instance, the Demovko trial. Malinovsky was killed near Nicolaev, only 50 versts from the big labor center. The incident may appear to be only of a local nature, but it reflected a very sad fact. We cannot pass by it with an easy heart. Remember, comrades, we are still lacking a safe transmission belt, an inexpensive, sober, honest Soviet machinery in the villages.

Can the Trade Union Congress help this? Very much so, just as during the first trade union congresses, along with the current work, along with the trade union work there stood such serious questions as the organization of the civil war, just so must we here, together with the questions of current trade union interests, remember the fundamental question which is of general political importance; how to help the village to set up an honest, sober, cultural inexpensive Soviet apparatus for which one would not have to blush.

The Trade Unions in the Village Must Strengthen Their Work.

We spoke about this at the Thirteenth Congress of our party. We were all surprised to hear that we have more than a million trade unionists in the village, and I even think that this will be just as new to you as it was to us at the Thirteenth Congress. The educational workers have 211,000 workers in the village, the land and forest workers 196,000, the sugar workers, 177,000; the miners, 100,000, etc., etc., altogether, in excess of a million trade union members in the village. Comrades, let us confess, do these village trade unionists work as they should? Have you thought seriously about this, as party and trade union members. No, we have not. But this was in the past. New with the new development in the village, this million trade union members should move from the realm of shadows, papers and diagrams into the realm of realities.

Most serious attention to this question! The Thirteenth Congress adopted a well thought out decision on this matter. We must consider it as a problem, such as it is—it is the key to every position.

The Baldwin is themselves do not worry us very much. When we speak of the phase of world reaction, we know that the U. S. S. R. is not directly threatened by this world reaction; that it threatens the workers in those countries where it is beginning to reign. The world reaction cannot afford us very powerfully. And this question of which I spoke, the question of jealousy of the discontent of the peasants with the workers, is a serious matter which the trade union congress should consider precisely because we are not sectionalists. Here is a trade union congress of Bolsheviks, of Comrade Lenin's pupils, there are no narrow sectionalists here, but men who know how to fight effectively for the needs of the working class, who know how to be revolutionary Bolsheviks, who are worthy members of the class/enforcing the hegemony of the working class, thus far only one-sixth part of the globe, but let us hope that the borders will shortly extend.

Productivity of Labor the Pivot of Our Policy.

The question of the relationship between labor and the peasantry leads us to the question of labor productivity. This is a most important problem, with a political aspect. We consider a raise of the productivity of labor as a most important question of international, economic and internal significance. The workers can say without exaggeration that the productivity of labor in any particular branch of industry, in Baku or the Don Basin is of international importance to us, and has a tremendous agitation significance to the workers of all other countries. It is not only a direct factor in increasing our wealth, but it is one of the bridges connecting us with the peasantry, and one

of the answers which we must give to their expressions of discontent. It is the only chance of giving the peasant goods at a reasonable price, and it is the only chance of raising the workers' wages.

It is time to put an end to the situation when we had "the union between the workers and the peasants" only on placards. This union should be effected in practice, concretely. This union cannot be only a cultural union, as we thought for some time, but it must be a cultural and economic union, because the question of economy, of prices, is the fundamental one.

The Life and Sufferings of a Bolt.

The campaign for higher productivity of labor is at its height, already some positive aspects of this campaign are noticeable, but there are also some negative aspects. Among the negative aspects is the rigmarole and noise about labor productivity. The workers quite properly nicknamed this prattology. There was a lot of noise and buzzing without business-like advice and things were represented in such a way as if the whole business depends upon the workers alone. This is untrue, the productivity of labor depends only partially upon the workers. One little document, a workers' note handed down at the non-party conference shows also another aspect. A certain non-party worker reported on productivity of labor as follows: I will write you—he said—a history of the life and sufferings of one bolt.

"A bolt dropped out of a machine, a bolt 1½ or 2 inches long, its price is only 1½ kopecks. In order to receive the production foreman must write: At Roller No. so and so, please have a new bolt fixed, then you must go to the engineer to have this signed, then to the mechanical engineer who will send you to the repair shop. The order has been received, and you must now write out a request. The request is written in three copies and must be signed by the production foreman, who is not always on the spot, as the plant is two versts in circumference, must be found, for he is a busy man and has other sections under him, and in order to find him you must walk about the plant. Finally you find him, and he signs the paper. You must then go to the engineer and then to the storehouse, at the storehouse you find that there are no such bolts, but that there are 3-inch bolts. You take the bolt, cut it short and fix it in its place. Sometime it happens this way: You come to the storehouse; you don't find what you want, and you go to the 'main warehouse,' the rubbish heap near Ekaterin's Park. You'll dig in there until you find something. This is happening at Leningrad in the Triangle factory, which cannot be classed as among the worst." Is it the workers' fault if he cannot raise his productivity under such conditions? Of course not. This is only one example and their number could be greatly multiplied.

The Administration and the Unions Should Be Equally Interested and Responsible for Productivity of Labor.

Productivity of labor cannot be created merely by personal intensity. Here 50 per cent depends upon the state, the management upon all of us. But the other 50 per cent depends upon the workers. This should be plainly told the workers that the other 50 per cent depends upon them. Some time ago you and we demanded together the eight-hour day from the bourgeoisie, the czar and company. Now we have a workers' government, and all of us ask you for an eight-hour day, a real honest, sober eight-hour day, which we do not yet have. In many places much less time is worked.

Thus, comrades, it is wrong to put the question of who is to raise productivity, the administration or the trade unions, "we" or "you." Under such a situation we shall perish, for we shall never raise the productivity but merely intensify the conflict with the peasantry. We must all raise productivity.

(Continued on page 7)

Communist Youth of World Pay Tribute to Karl Liebknecht

By JOHN WILLIAMSON.

SIX years ago the working class of the world was watching with intense interest the revolutionary struggles of the German working class to establish the Soviet republic. Revolutionary fervor ran high. The working masses were awakening to a realization of their power and were beginning to assert it. The workers of Germany, the poorly organized, were struggling against the well-armed and disciplined forces of the government.

In this revolt who were the leaders? Who was it that issued the stirring manifestos and proclamations?

The Spartacus League of Germany, headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

This attempt of the workers to overthrow the capitalist republic was drowned in blood. The leaders, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were foully murdered by the armed forces of the government under the direct supervision of the social-democrats who were in power.

The blood of these great working class leaders together with that of thousands of other militant workers stains the hands of the German socialists. These leaders had dedicated their lives to the struggles of the workers against the capitalist state and had suffered many times in the prisons of Germany. It was left to the yellow social democrats to commit the crime of murdering our leaders while engaged in the valiant struggle to establish a workers' government.

Karl Liebknecht was well-known for his continual struggle against the German plutocracy. Born at a time when his illustrious father, Wilhelm Liebknecht, was serving time in jail for socialist agitation, Karl early became interested in the revolutionary movement. Early in his activities he realized the importance of organizing the socialist youth since he had become convinced of the sterility of the old line socialists and their non-revolutionary attitude. He was instrumental in calling the first International Socialist Youth Congress in Stuttgart in 1907, which assumed a revolutionary position in opposition to the reformist struggles of the party. During the world war Liebknecht's name was on the lips of every honest revolutionist. In the midst of the betrayal of the workers' movement by practically every leading world figure in the socialist movement it was Liebknecht's voice which rang through the world in defiance of the world war. As a result of his stirring appeal to the workers of Germany on May Day, 1916, Liebknecht was imprisoned until 1918 when he again assumed the leadership and rallied the masses against the continued betrayal of the social-democrats. It was in this struggle that he met his untimely death—murdered—shot in the back—he died in the struggle.

With the same thought of Liebknecht come his constant ally and co-worker, Rosa Luxemburg. Known for years for her constant struggle against the opportunism of the leaders of the Second International, she also was banished in 1915 for her agitation against the capitalist slaughter. Early in life she was noted for her leading part in organizing the Polish revolutionary party, and giving it a definite and clear-cut Marxian program. She wrote article after article, book after book, exposing the reformist nature of the entire leadership of the Second International. She became a thorn in the sides of both the German bourgeoisie and their socialist lackeys. On the same night that Liebknecht was murdered, Luxemburg was stabbed in the back by a group of army officers under whose care she was being transported. While suffering from the first blows, the rest of the cowardly beasts struck and shot her till she was a mass of bloody flesh. Thus ended the career of Red Rosa—murdered under the socialist reign of terror against working class leaders.

While the German working class suffered temporary defeat in 1919, the

Communist Party of Germany has forged ahead and today rallies around its red standard the masses of Germany. The socialist lackeys still continue to crush the Communists and today thousands of our German comrades lie in jail under the guard of socialist watchdogs. However, the German working class has been slowly disillusioned and realizes today that only the Communist Party is the party of the masses—the party of struggle—the party of Communism.

January 15 has been dedicated by the Young Communist International as a day upon which the Communist youth of all lands mobilize the working class youth for struggle against their exploiters and to advance the struggle for working class power. The Communist youth of all lands carry on the struggle where Liebknecht left

off. We must not only mourn our departed leaders. We must utilize International Liebknecht Day as an occasion to mobilize the masses of working class youth.

Throughout America the Young Workers' League has issued the call to action. In America where the youth are subjected to the most subtle propaganda, thru the most scientific means of dissemination, in favor of capitalism, the Young Workers League calls upon the workingclass youth to rally around its standard on the following issues:

Abolition of child labor.
Maintenance by the state of all school children of workers under sixteen years of age.
Six-hour day, five-day week for all youth labor with full pay.
Against capitalist wars and militarism.

Against the enslavement of German workers thru the Dawes' plan.
For a workers' republic.

Young workers of America, rally to the standard of the Young Workers' League of America. Join with us in our struggles against the capitalist class and their hirelings. Let us be determined that Liebknecht and Luxemburg did not die in vain. We must conduct the struggle with ten times more vigor, with a determination that in our final struggle we will be victorious. The spirit of Liebknecht lives on. It is imbedded in every young revolutionist the world over.

Long live Communist Party of Germany.

Long live the Young Communist International.

Long live the world leader of the revolutionary working class, the Communist International!

OUR COMMUNIST MARTYRS



KARL LIEBKNECHT

Murdered by German White Guards, January 15, 1919.



ROSA LUXEMBURG

Letters From Moscow - By Anna Porter

MOSCOW, Nov. 8.—(By Mail).—My farewell to Moscow was a spectacular one and thrilling—something like a million comrades turned out and demonstrated for me—or so it seemed, for I lingered over Nov. 7, the day of days in Red Russia—the anniversary of the October revolution.

For days beforehand, truck loads of green garlands rattled down the cobbled streets, and the fire ladders carried them to the top of every official building, looping them over the whole facade—the Comintern, the Moscow Soviet, the Dom Soyuz or Central Labor Council House, and the Soviet dome. Every building in town carried its share of decoration, even to the Nep hotels. And among the ropes of evergreen, hung banners of red and gold, fluttered scarlet flags, flaunted mottoed bunting—almost screamed the color and glitter of the revolutionary day. Over all, rested the queerest flaking of the first snow, caught in the green, leaving untouched the red.

Without a permit or membership in an organization, no one might enter the Red Square today, so I bethought me of an organization which was careless in its censorship, to which I might be said to belong by virtue of my presence in Moscow. At 9:30 a. m. I took my place in the ranks of the English-speaking section of the Immigrants' Club. Above us advanced a cartoon of the Dawes plan, with unfattering portraits—before us a red banner portrayed us as "Anglo-

Saxon Communists." Near me marched Gertrude Haessley and little Ruth Kennell, just from Kuzbas, and Anna Louise Strong—"immigrants" all. About half of us were Jews and as each contingent arrived, they were greeted with the friendly jeer, "Hurrah for the Anglo-Saxons!" and they evidently enjoyed the joke as well as anyone. The one who walked by me said, "Only workers can enter the Red Square today." "And Communists," I added. "All Communists," was the quick and proud reply, "are workers!" No one had censored me and I might have been a "counter" and carried bombs in my pocket. These revolutionists are growing careless! Nevertheless, again and again, the eagle-eyed marshal of our division prevented some by-stander from the crowded sidewalks from falling craftily into line.

Most of the Americans are voluntary exiles, but many others—practically all the French—are political refugees. The French section marched just behind us, arrogantly proclaiming on their bunting, "The bourgeoisie recognize us, but we do not recognize the bourgeoisie." Back of them the Italians were marching to the measure of their "Alar—ma! Alar—ma! Alarma, Communisti!" on the bugle tones. And under the slogan, "Hands Off China!" marched the students of the Far Eastern University. Looking forward and backward we could see no end to the lines moving steadily on in rhythmic advance under the red banners of the revolution. Even the "Oktyabrati"

were out—truck loads of the wee ones born since Red October, and lines and lines of the little "Leninists," striding valiantly, and ranks and ranks of the Communist youth tramping sturdily, and workers—men and women—and the soldiers of the Red Army, all under the red banners of the revolution.

Into the Red Square we marched—over the frost of white that mottled its cobbles, and past the tribune of the mausoleum where Trotsky stood above his sleeping comrade to see our ranks go by. Very grim he looked and motionless, with hand at cap, while the crowd, not a whit awed, spelled out his name and shouted as each division passed. Very determined, too, and soldierly, and I think he saw us, in his mind, marching on and on, west and still west, until our ranks had doubled, tripled, swelled a hundred fold, and our feet were stayed by the Atlantic breakers. That, at least, is what

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Fake Child Labor Programs

By KARL REEVE

THE WORKERS PARTY demands that the emaciated anti-child labor amendment to the federal constitution now before state legislatures for ratification by supplement by full governmental maintenance of all school children of workers and poor farmers. The trade union bureaucrats and liberal anti-child labor organizations who are pretending to be against child labor, are on the other hand interpreting the amendment so as to make it altogether useless.

John H. Walker president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in his annual report to the state convention in Peoria on Sept. 8, practically assures the employers that they need not fear that this amendment, even if ratified by 36 states, will abolish child labor. "The enemies of this legislation are trying to prevent the different states from ratifying this measure by making it appear that, if ratified, it becomes an operating part of the constitution and, that congress will likely pass a law prohibiting any young person from working at anything until they are eighteen years of age," says Walker. "THIS SORT OF ARGUMENT IS PURELY DEMAGOGY. IT IS THE RANKEST KIND OF MISREPRESENTATION. The eighteen year provision included in the amendment enables congress and the legislatures of the different states

to enact legislation THAT WOULD REQUIRE THAT A PERSON UNDER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE WHO MAY BE WORKING BUT WHO IS BELOW THE STANDARD IN EDUCATION THAT WOULD FIT HIM PROPERLY TO BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, DEVOTED A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF TIME IN SCHOOL OR IN SOME OTHER WAY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACQUIRING A SUFFICIENT KNOWLEDGE AND TO MAKE THEM FIT FOR AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP."

Walker, in other words, is for the child labor amendment because it does not abolish child labor, and considers any interpretation of the amendment to imply that it does abolish child labor as "rank misrepresentation." The amendment is useless enough as it stands. It provides that "congress shall have the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age," but does not definitely curb child labor in any way.

The National Child Labor Committee, an organization of liberal, petty bourgeois and capitalistic organizations, has pushed the so-called child labor amendment more than any other body. But this conglomerate organization, including side by side with the women's welfare clubs, such capitalistic bodies as the American

Legion, is equally as careful in pointing out that the amendment might as well be ratified as it doesn't mean anything anyway. This body interprets the amendment to mean that child labor on the farms is by no means affected.

Owen R. Lovejoy, the petty bourgeois spokesman for the child labor committee, asks,—"Will congress attempt to regulate employment of children on farms? The National Child Labor Committee believes not. The National Child Labor Committee includes in its organization citizens of every state who are known to be leaders in child labor reform and YET ARE DEFINITELY AVERSE TO ANY SUCH EXERCISE OF FEDERAL POWER. THE ATTEMPT TO LEGISLATE AGAINST EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN ON FARMS WOULD LIKEWISE BE OPPOSED, WE BELIEVE BY THE NATIONAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, THE NATIONAL GRANGE AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS."

Lovejoy's statement, made officially for the child labor committee, is all the more amazing when it is recalled that the overwhelming majority of child laborers are employed on the farms. The U. S. census figures for 1920 show that of 1,060,858 children between the ages of ten and fifteen inclusive, who work for a living in

the United States, 647,309, are employed in agricultural pursuits. In other words, the child labor committee, at the start interprets the already futile child labor amendment to mean that 61 per cent of all children working in the country must continue to work.

The Workers (Communist) Party, on the other hand, takes the lead and calls for a united front of all workers and poor farmers in America against child labor everywhere. The Workers Party demands the passage of laws, not only abolishing child labor, but providing for full governmental maintenance of all school children of workers and poor farmers. The Communists call on the workers to enforce, thru their organized power, the relief of the suffering child workers of America.

Coolidge has refused to work for the passage of even the futile child labor amendment. The A. F. of L. bureaucrats are laying down in the fight against child labor. The liberal and petty bourgeois child labor committees are accepting the interpretation of child labor laws laid down by the manufacturers associations and the capitalistic supreme courts.

The Workers (Communist) Party is the only organization which bands the working class together for a relentless fight to overthrow child labor and capitalist control of industry.

MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN

"LA BOHEME," the operatic paradise of all sentimentalists, was given its last performance by the Chicago Civic Opera company at the Auditorium last Tuesday night.

The music of "Boheme" is, on the whole, too good to account for the opera's popularity. The explanation of the appeal of this Puccini opus is in the plot.

The story is familiar to all who go to opera. The four Bohemians, Rodolph the poet, Marcel the painter, Schaunard the musician and Colline the philosopher, live together in an attic in Paris. Their neighbor, Mimì, comes to borrow a light for a candle from Rodolph. Love at first sight.

In the second act the four friends and Mimì dine at an open air cafe. Musetta, an old flame of Marcel, appears with an ancient lover. Marcel and Musetta patch things up and the six principals make a hurried exit leaving the basso bouffe to pay the bills.

While the curtain is down between the second and third acts Mimì and Rodolph have a fight. They meet at the gates of Paris in the beginning of the third act and are reconciled. Marcel and Musetta quarrel again in the same act.

In the last act, Mimì dies of TB. Colline pawns his coat to save her, but she dies anyway, leaving the five other principals scattered about the stage in various attitudes of sorrow and despair.

The appeal in this plot is that deep down in the makeup of anyone artist enough to enjoy opera lies the desire, either suppressed or unfulfilled in the majority of cases, to live the bohemian life. The bohemian life is the completely individualistic one. Your bohemian is free of all the compulsory contacts and observances of ordinary men. You never have heard of a family of bohemians living together, have you? Whether or not a real bohemian exists on this planet is quite another argument.

Puccini's score for "Boheme" is much better than those of "Madame Butterfly" or "The Girl of the Golden West," but not so brilliant as that of "Tosca." "Boheme" contains fewer set arias and duets than most of Puccini's other works. "Butterfly" and "Tosca" are two character operas. "Boheme" is divided between six principals.

The cast was splendid in each part. Edith Mason is not so sylph like as a good Mimì should be to look the part, but she can sing it in 100 percent fashion. Gladys Swarthout was a good

singing, convincing and attractive Musetta.

Of the four bohemians two were played by some of the best singing actors in the company, Deside Defrere as Schaunard and Virgilio Lazzari, that prodigious Italian bass, as Colline. Mr. Hackett's Rodolph was a little cold, perhaps because Hackett has not been in good health lately. Mr. Rimini sang Marcel.

That man Puccini had an astounding fund of sentimental tunes. "Boheme" keeps constantly this side of the vulgar. It takes an artist to write a tune that might be vulgar and isn't. Musetta's waltz song at the end of the second act and Colline's farewell to his coat in the last act are two of Puccini's greatest melodies.

The eleventh week of the Chicago Civic Opera company's season brings an interesting repertoire, with a number of extra matinees and special performances.

On Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, the second performance of Louise will be sung with Garden, Claessens, Anseau, Baklanoff, with Polacco conducting.

Monday night, Samson and Delilah will be given a second performance with Homer, making her last appearance this season. The artists assisting her will be Marshall, Formichi, Oukraisky, Miles, Elsius, Millar, Nemeroff, Shermon and Corps de Ballet. Conductor, Polacco.

Tuesday night, Tales of Hoffmann will be given for the second time with Macbeth, Forral, Anseau, Schwarz. Conductor Lauwers.

The Wednesday matinee will be a special performance of Otello with Raisa, Perini, Marshall and Schwarz. Moranzoni will conduct.

Wednesday night, Martha will be sung for the first time with Mason, Perini, Schipa and Lazzari. Moranzoni again conducting.

Thursday night, the Jongleur de Notre Dame will be given its second presentation with Garden, Cotreuil, Kipniss. Polacco conducting.

Friday night the first performance of Boris Godunoff will be given with Van Gordon, Cortis and Chaliapin. Polacco again conducting.

The Saturday matinee will be L'Amore Dei Tre Re, The Love of Three Kings, with Garden, Anseau, Baklanoff and Lazzari, with Polacco in the pit.

Saturday night, Hansel and Gretel, at popular prices, with Orens, Derzbach, Lenska, Swarthout, Westen and Beck, followed by the Ballet Divertissement, with Frank St. Leger conducting.

THE Shop Nucleus of the DAILY WORKER has granted a special privilege to the little red printers' devil in the shop. On Monday night at the FIRST DAILY WORKER birthday party at Imperial Hall they will allow him (at the danger of arrest of course) to "associate with" Communist printers. But his social debut must be made with proper decorum (not full dress) or the printers insist he will be a poor little devil at the next nucleus meeting.

This is party because there is work to be done that night. A newspaper will be made up and the whole DAILY WORKER staff will participate in this novel stunt that will break all established Robert's rules of order. There will be other novelties, as all will admit when they hear that no party discussion will be allowed. And woe to the poor suckers who attempt it—for Steve Rubicki and his Cheka will be on the job.

As a free supper will be served, no points of order will be considered. But it will be a classy meal the committee assures us.

The Flaming Youth orchestra of the

ing her will be Marshall, Formichi, Oukraisky, Miles, Elsius, Millar, Nemeroff, Shermon and Corps de Ballet. Conductor, Polacco.

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THE LITTLE DEVIL IS GOING TO GET — ?

Y. W. L. will donate their tinkling tintrambulations to secure a lively movement on the dance floor. And there will be vocal and piano solos by Margarite Lewis whose work will some day make her city-agent-husband the better-half of a famous woman.

There are other novel stunts in store for those who will spend fifty cents to attend the party of our daily — and they will get other things beside a free meal to take home with them.

Comrades Natalie Gomez, and the well known sisters, Gussie Kruse and Emma Blechschmidt form the committee whom you will have to thank for the evening's jollity, and they are arranging a treat that will make DAILY WORKER parties a byword in the movement.

Your Policy must Be
— Buy a Policy —

GREAT WORKERS PARTY CONCERT AND DANCE ON TOMORROW, SUNDAY

This Sunday, Jan. 11, the Russian and Ukrainian branches of the Workers Party will give a concert and dance at Schoenhoffen Hall, corner Milwaukee and Ashland Aves. Half of the proceeds will go for the Russian Communist daily, "Novy Mir." The concert promises to be an interesting one. The Ukrainian workers' chorus, a mandolin orchestra, singers from the Russian grand opera, classic dancing and other numbers will be on the program. Russian and American dancing will follow the concert. Beginning at 4 p. m.

Comrades from all nationalities are invited to enjoy a good time and help a good cause.

CHICAGO, ATTENTION! All friendly organizations, T. U. E. L. groups, party branches, language federations and Y. W. L. branches! Arrangements have been made for the following major city affairs. Do not arrange conflicting affairs on these days:

Karl Liebknecht Celebration—Sunday, January 11, Northwest Hall, corner North and Western Aves. Auspices Y. W. L., Local Chicago.

Lenin memorial meeting—Wednesday, Jan. 21, Ashland Auditorium, Van Buren and Ashland. Workers Party, Local Chicago.

The Red Revel—Saturday, Feb. 28, West End Women's Club Hall.

"The Beauty and the Bolshevik" and "Russia in Overalls," greatest motion picture program, auspices of the DAILY WORKER and the International Workers' Aid, co-operation of Workers Party and Labor Defense, Ashland Auditorium, Thursday, Feb. 5, continuous show 7 to 11, admission 50c, 7,000 attendance expected, come early.

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"Gompers, A Philosophic Anarchist"

A Reply to Yanofsky, Editor of Justice.

By A RANK AND EYLER.

According to Mr. Yanofsky's statement in Justice of Dec. 19, Gompers "derived his strength from the working mass, reflecting in his policies their ideas, aspirations and state of mind." Before going any further I asked myself, "What is the policy of the A. F. of L.?" I tried to analyze its "contribution" to the welfare of humanity and the workers in particular. My conclusions are that the A. F. of L. with the great labor leader, Samuel Gompers, in whom, according to Yanofsky's opinion, "The workers have lost a real example of a labor leader," was nothing but a hindrance to the emancipation of the workers.

As to the question, "what the policy of the A. F. of L. is?" one can answer at once, "The obtaining of increasing wages and reduction in the hours of labor." But this is more of an abstract phrase than a practical aim and even if it were a practical policy, has it any real value? No! On the contrary. It is a disadvantage to those who produce all the wealth we have, that is, "they" have, they who control the tools of production and in return give the workers just enough to keep "soul and body" together in the form known as wages. It was Gompers with the rest of his clique who was throwing sand into the eyes of the workers, to prevent them from seeing whither they were led. Gompers, the great "philosophic anar-

chist," thrust his entire career was lulling the workers to peaceful sleep and content with the famous song, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

In my opinion Gompers and the rest of the officials of the A. F. of L., the highest as well as the lowest, were traitors to the workers and were a menace to society as a whole. Yanofsky says, among other things, "With his life-work Gompers has immortalized his name in the history of our struggle." Yes, Mr. Yanofsky, you are right, but let me tell you how he has "immortalized his" great "name." Gompers was a faithful servant to the capitalist class but not to the workers. It is partly due to him that the latter are today enslaved and chained. It was Gompers who knew how to tighten that chain around the neck of labor.

"Was your 'philosophic anarchist' a labor leader, Mr. Yanofsky? Yes, but only insofar as to 'lead' labor into such channels as would be of greatest benefit and profit to the employing class. Gompers' function was always to keep labor at the lowest possible point of economic and political consciousness. His death means a great loss to the master class he served. As sick as he was he went to Mexico, his nurse accompanying him.

But you know, Mr. Yanofsky, as I do, that it was not for the benefit of labor that he went there. It was for the class who recently lost in him a valuable ally. The capitalist class of the United States ordered him to accomplish a task which was very difficult for him to accomplish and "the

great labor leader," whom in the columns of Justice you have so highly praised, helped with all in his power to carry the victorious banner of Wall Street into Mexico.

The American ruling class is mourning the loss of their lackey who to the very last minute maneuvered in the ranks of labor to please his masters. The said, Mr. Yanofsky, you try to throw into the eyes of the workers by means of your pen is scattered by the wind. You are dealing today with a new type of a reader of Justice, one who rebels at empty phrases and searches for concrete facts, for these facts stare him in the face.

Can an HONEST labor leader in his lifetime accumulate \$30,000 and after his death be buried in a Sleepy Hollow cemetery—between Rockefeller and Carnegie? It is clear even to a child and to workers especially that Gompers, your "philosophic anarchist," who, according to your statement, was such "a passionate lover of liberty," lived and died for capitalism, for, were it otherwise, he would not have had the honor of being buried among those who forged gold out of the flesh and blood of the working class.

You confess that years ago you condemned Gompers as a reactionary, as one who was holding back the forces of social revolution in America. But this, Mr. Yanofsky, was at the time when you were the editor of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, when you occupied a little room in a basement of an East Broadway tenement where it was cold, dark and dreary. But today as the editor of Justice, sitting in a swivel chair in the building of the I. L. G.

W. U. where it is quite comfortable for officials who are nothing else but tools and screws for the capitalist machine—today, you are singing a different song. Today you see Gompers as "the idol, the lover of liberty, a person of sterling honesty and as a philosophic anarchist." Mr. Yanofsky, your work is in vain. Labor all over the world is awakening and soon will say to you and your associates of Gompersism: "Gentlemen, I defy you! For my power is growing stronger daily. In vain you are trying to curb my will. From now on you will no longer succeed."

I am sure that deep in your heart, Mr. Yanofsky, you know it very well that all labor fakery and corrupt union officials will have to make room for the rank and file who are capable to control industry and manage their own affairs.

In your eulogy of Gompers you go so far as to say that, "we in the labor movement shall feel orphaned because of his departure." Some of the autocratic officials may feel that way but surely none of the rank and file members share this sentiment. I as one of them feel that my estimation is correct and take the liberty of telling it to you.

With wrath and indignation will the tombstone and say, "Here lies one who betrayed our ancestors, it was partly due to him that they were plundered, outraged and disinherited." Their cry of protest will shake the world, a protest which will raise the battle cry, "Down with all sorts of prostitution." All sorts, including pen prostitutes.

Views of Our Readers on Many Subjects

The DAILY WORKER and the Negro Workers.

To the DAILY WORKER:—It is imperative that Negroes read, subscribe to and support our Communist daily newspaper, the DAILY WORKER. By so doing they will be helping themselves and also aiding our paper. Negro workers suffer from discriminations, petty police interferences, mob violence, which white workers do not suffer from. Therefore, Negro workers have extra difficulties to face on the account of the color of their skins. The Negro newspapers in general, some more boldly than others, constantly and doggedly fight against lynchings, burnings, segregation, Jim Crowism, unwarranted police interference and other discriminations.

As Communists we recognize the fact that the capitalist newspapers and other agencies are the ones behind the scenes constantly fomenting and stirring up anti-Negro prejudices. The capitalist legislative bodies pass and put into effect discriminatory measures against Negroes. We are convinced that the only way to completely eliminate the evil conditions under which Negroes suffer, is to destroy the capitalist system bag and baggage.

The stupid and ignorant white workers, imbued with their unfounded prejudices against all Negroes, as a result of this anti-Negro propaganda, composed the mobs who attack Negroes, and believe the vicious lies disseminated by the capitalist agencies against Negroes to be true. Many white workers even join the anti-Negro organization, the Ku Klux Klan. These white workers are badly in need of enlightenment on the Negro.

Our Communist paper, the DAILY WORKER, in order to enlighten these white workers and at the same time obtain Negro subscribers and readers, must constantly contain editorials and news articles on the Negro. In this way the anti-Negro propaganda of the capitalist newspapers will be counteracted. Already the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Daily News have ceased front paging and head lining crimes committed or alleged to have been committed by Negroes, as a result of the merciless expose of their policy thru the columns of the DAILY WORKER and several Negro news-

papers, by one of our Negro party members.

We know of a white girl, who said that she was afraid to come into the Negro district. No doubt that she had read these stories in the capitalist newspapers, of how Negro men kidnapped white girls, took them to some house in the "black belt" and there assaulted them and had other Negroes to do likewise, and believe the lies to be true. This shows to what extent the capitalist papers will go in Negro baiting.

We hope that the DAILY WORKER in the future will realize the significance of constantly publishing editorials and articles on the Negro, and will answer thru its columns the attacks made on the Negro by the capitalist newspapers and other agencies. By so doing, Negroes will come to learn that our Communist paper is truly a champion of the Negro workers as well as the white workers.

Yours Fraternally,

Edward L. Doty,
Robert J. Bowman,
Norval H. Allen,

Members of the South Side branch of the Workers (Communist) Party.

Gunmen in Demand.

Morgantown, W. Va.

Editor of the DAILY WORKER:—Yes, Gompersism must be killed as dead as Gompers is. The rank and file in and out of the unions have no confidence in Gompersism. The old dynasty must be dethroned. Keep up your drive at the A. F. of L. leadership as having proved their unworthiness on many fronts. Judas was a gentleman compared to them. Their finish is near at hand, unless they are endowed by an Eastman or a Duke, or a Rockefeller, which would be properly in line with their methods of crushing the workers.

The boom is on here in full blast. Machine guns are in heavy demand by the open shoppers. There is not so much unemployment as one would suppose after seeing the starving miners around here. In fact, anyone who is willing to shoulder a gun and shoot down workers on demand is sure of getting a job. Such wonderful prosperity must be beautiful to behold by the stock market crowd and our money kings. And so it goes from Maine to California.

But Arthur Brisbane, the self-appointed schoolmaster of the world in his flights of imagination bids us be calm as things will be better in a few million years. It must be nice to be intelligent and civilized like Arthur Brisbane and his scientific friends—the blind slaves of capitalism. But I fondly hope they will soon relieve the most of us of our stomachs as we have little use for them in these times of high prices, low wages and unemployment.

(Signed) Henry Dondery, Morgantown, W. Va.

To the DAILY WORKER:—I have been employed by an owner of several greenhouses here, and everything went as well as might be expected when employed by a miser of a small capitalist, until this most reactionary employer of mine found out by opening my mail that I subscribe to the DAILY WORKER.

Since then I have been humiliated in the most treacherous manner conceivable: my room searched while I was gone; all sorts of petty "jokes" (as I heard the boss call them), from setting carpet tacks into my bed clothes to setting an alarm ringing at my door while I was asleep after having fired five boilers all night. Orders were given me as if I were on board a convict ship, the last of which was a command to work days in the greenhouse after a sixteen-hour night firing shift. It was impossible to drop off to sleep for a minute on this job because the boss insisted that the temperature be kept fluctuating within two degrees, almost an impossibility with his small boilers and in bad condition.

This last command I positively refused to obey and asked for my wages. He refused to pay until he had found a man in my place.

This is nothing new. Neither is the fact that the rest of the workers working here are not class conscious and think that by sticking with the boss they will be better off. It only means that we must work harder to reach them.

Wishing you the very best results in your Insurance Drive.

Fraternally yours,

LOUIS BOMAN,
Baldwinville, Mass.

Letter to Pravda.

Editor, Pravda, Moscow,
Union of Soviet Republics.

Dear Sir:—

Russia is to be CONGRATULATED in suppressing Christianity and ALL religions.

They are ALL bad.

Last Christmas the Christians had a BIG celebration and stole my chickens and other things.

Then when I complained to the authorities threatened me with \$5,000.00 fine and five years imprisonment, for asking that I be protected in accordance with the laws of this so-called republic.

Emma Goldman may think it harder in Russia than in America, but I assure the people of the Union of Soviet Republics that such is not the case.

Were I master of the great Russian language, and young and healthy, I would at once throw in my lot with the people of the Union of the Soviet Republics, for in Russia alone is liberty.

It is only a myth in America, and no one ever got any justice in any court here.

Today, the bleeding laborers are looking to Moscow, and not to Washington, for their salvation.

We are looking to Communism, and NOT Christianity for our relief, and we are looking BECAUSE Christianity has failed, and been proved as the foulest system of graft the world has ever known.

Yours for the Third International,
B. YORKSTONE HOGG.

"In Memoriam—Lenin" to be shown Jan. 15 at Gartner's Theater.

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CHICAGO

MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO

Bolshevism or Trotskyism?

(Continued from page 1)

party was not yet a Communist Party). I declare that the comrades of the social-revolutionists (it was the question of the left social-revolutionists whom the central committee of our party, with Comrade Lenin at the head, tried at that time to induce to participate in the first Soviet government) should not have started to criticize us Bolsheviks while events were taking place in the streets of Moscow regarding which our Moscow delegates have reported today. (At this time the struggle for the Soviet power was still going on in Moscow.) On this occasion we remind the comrades of the social-revolutionists that before we published the composition of our government we called upon them to take part in the government, but they declared that they would take part in the work of the government, but for the time being would not enter the government."

At the session of the Petrograd Soviet of Nov. 3, 1917, the writer stated:

"Comrades:—There are among us comrades from the red army, soldiers and sailors, who in a few hours will hasten to the aid of our Moscow comrades and brothers. (Loud and prolonged applause.) The revolutionary military committee wished two days ago to send help, but met with obstacles precisely from those quarters from which one could only have expected support. I speak here of some leading circles of the railway employees, who in these hours so fateful for the revolution have adopted a 'neutral' attitude. In these terrible hours, however, one cannot be 'neither hot nor cold'—I do not wish to speak too sharply, but you yourselves will understand, comrades, how the future will judge these facts."

"Just recently a transport of troops to Moscow was held up. When the leaders of the railway workers' union were asked how they could act in this manner, they replied: We have also held up transports from the other side."

"We must appeal to the lower sections of the railwaymen and explain to them what 'neutrality' means under present conditions. I do not doubt that 99 per cent of the lower sections of the railway employees and workers will side with the fighting soldiers and workers. A whole number of central committees are sitting on the fence. Unfortunately, among these is the central committee of the railway workers. No one could have foreseen that the leading organ of the railway workers would preserve 'neutrality' whilst workers and soldiers were fighting on the barricades. This state of affairs must be ended. The railway proletariat must stand like one man on the side of the fighting workers and soldiers, they must help them to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners. . . ."

"Greetings to the comrades who are hastening to the help of the revolutionaries in Moscow (long and stormy applause). Now we are giving back to Moscow what it gave the revolution in 1905. At that time the Moscow proletariat began the revolt, and delivered the first blow against despotism. We are happy we are now able to help, that we now have the possibility of throwing our victorious troops on the Moscow front."

"Long live the comrades proceeding to Moscow—all Russia is watching them."

On the evening of the 3rd of November and on the morning of the 4th, our negotiations with the left social-revolutionists and with that conference which had invited the leaders of the railway workers' union, arrived at the most critical stage. At this moment we committed the greatest errors. The famous declaration of some comrades, among them myself, in the central committee of the Bolsheviks and the council of people's commissaries (regarding the resignation of our responsible posts owing to the obstinacy of our central committee) was signed on Nov. 4, 1917, and on Nov. 7, 1917, my 'Letter to

the Comrades" was published in the Pravda (No. 183). In this letter we said: (I quote the most important part).

"The central committee of the All-Russian Soviet Congress placed in the foreground a definite plan of agreement (the resolution of Nov. 3), which I fully agree with, as it demands the immediate recognition of the decrees regarding the land, peace, workers' control, and the recognition of the Soviet power."

"In reply to the resolution of the central executive committee, the mensheviks submitted a number of preconditions. The central executive committee, as it did not wish to place any difficulties in the way, adopted a resolution proposed by us which removed the hindrances in the way of these negotiations."

"In spite of this the other side would not make any concessions to the central executive committee. The conditions submitted by the latter were rejected by the mensheviks and the social-revolutionists. The attempt to arrive at an agreement was consistently carried out in spite of all obstacles; it led, however, to no result. It is now evident that the mensheviks and the social-revolutionists did not want an understanding and only sought for a pretext to wreck it."

"Now all the workers and soldiers will know who bears the responsibility for the wrecking of the agreement. Now—I am convinced—also the left social-revolutionists will throw the blame for the wrecking of the understanding upon the mensheviks and for refusing to enter into our government."

"In the present state of affairs I adhere to the proposition of the comrades and withdraw my declaration regarding resignation from the central committee."

"I appeal to my immediate comrades. Comrades, we made a great sacrifice when we openly raised a protest against the majority of our central committee and demanded the agreement. This agreement, however, was rejected by the other side. We are living in a serious, responsible time. It is our duty to warn the party of errors. But we remain with the party, we prefer to commit errors along with the millions of workers and soldiers and to die with them than to stand aside from them at this decisive historical moment."

"There will and shall be no split in our party."

Since Nov. 8 I participated as previously in the work of our central committee. On Nov. 9 I spoke in its name at the All-Russian Peasants' Congress, and on the 10th of November at the session of the Petrograd Soviet. Here I said that we would recognize the constituent assembly, "if the constituent assembly would give expression to the actual will of the workers, soldiers and peasants."

Naturally, now after seven years, it seems monstrous to every member of our party how one could deceive himself with regard to the real forces of the leaders of the railwaymen and those alleged internationalists from the camp of the social-revolutionists and mensheviks grouped round the railway leaders. Of course, in order to understand the situation one must place one's self in the position obtaining at the time. It was not until six months after the October revolt that it became evident that the left social-revolutionists had also become a counter-revolutionary force. In October, 1917, however, they were expressly invited by Comrade Lenin and our central committee to participate in our first Soviet government, as they were then connected with a large section of the peasants and with a portion of the workers. In fact, even the negotiations with the leaders of the railwaymen's union were, as the reader has seen, conducted with the approval of the central committee."

The result of the exposure of the mensheviks and of the social-revolutionists on the occasion of the railway workers' conference was, that the left social-revolutionists, whom

Comrade Lenin had formerly in vain called upon to participate in the Soviet government, now entered into it; although some days before the social-revolutionists had the intention even to resign for the central executive committee, which under the conditions then existing would have meant a severe blow for the Bolsheviks and would have hindered the winning of the peasantry."

In the Pravda of Nov. 4 we read: "The fraction of the left social-revolutionists in the central executive committee submitted an ultimative declaration regarding the necessity of drawing up of a platform in the name of the central executive committee. The central executive committee agreed to this demand and in the name of the central executive committee a platform was drawn up."

It was just the rejection of this platform by the mensheviks and the social-revolutionists at the conference convened by the railway leaders which led to the change in the tactics of the left social-revolutionists in favor of the Soviet power."

At this time there was published in the Pravda a number of resolutions from the most important factories in which we find the following:

"Whilst we regard the agreement of the socialist parties as desirable, we workers declare that the agreement can only be reached on the basis of the following conditions . . ." (These conditions were practically the same as our representatives had submitted to the railway men's conference.)

In our attitude during these days there was again reflected the hesitation of these workers—in this respect our error was not a personal, not an accidental error."

Now, seven years afterwards, do not the words in the resolution of our central committee that "the assertion that the Bolsheviks would not share power with anybody is devoid of all foundation" sound monstrous from our present standpoint? And yet these words were written down by Comrade Lenin on Nov. 3, 1917, and approved by our central committee. Everyone who reflects over these facts, everyone who remembers that the left social-revolutionists at that time represented an important section of the peasants, everyone who reflects at all over the conditions at that time, will understand the extent, and the character of our error. It was a great, but nevertheless not a "social-democratic" error."

We, of course, do not say that in order to prove that our error was a small one. We stood outside of the central committee of the party only for three days—from Nov. 4 to 7. In spite of this, this error, as we already said at the opening session of the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern, was the greatest error we made in our life. The only thing we wish to prove here is that it is not correct to draw from this error the conclusion that there existed a "right wing" in Bolshevism."

Every one who experienced those historical days knows that these differences, how much they strained the relations of such near comrades and friends, left no bitter feeling behind. Everybody adopted a sincere attitude towards the errors of the others, without attempting to "make use of" these errors for "diplomatic," fractionist purposes. Everybody understood that only the exceptional moment led to exceptional means of solving differences, which arose like a whirlwind but which, like a whirlwind, soon calmed down without causing great damage."

These differences were swept away by the avalanche of fresh events—they remained isolated with the leading circles of the party. A few days passed and the error was admitted by those who had committed it and the general staff of the party and the whole party could proceed to the solution of actual tasks. These differences have left behind such little traces in the party that at the first party conference (VII) which took place after the October revolt (which dealt

already with the question of the Brest peace), nobody mentioned a single word regarding these differences."

Nobody reproached us regarding this error, although it so happened that I, on behalf of the central committee, had to fight energetically against Comrade Trotsky and the "left" and it is clear that the party, under the fresh impression of the differences, would have attacked the guilty ones if they had estimated this guilt as Comrade Trotsky does now."

Comrade Trotsky now says in the "Lessons of October," seven years after these events, that our attitude to the question of the Brest peace was one of capitulation. What did Trotsky himself say on this Seventh Party Congress some weeks after the October differences:

"Before the last journey to Brest-Litovsk we discussed during the whole time the question of our further tactics. And there was only one vote in the central committee in favor of immediately signing the peace: that of Zinoviev. (We assert that there was not only one vote, but also Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov said the same thing; Comrade Kameney was arrested in Finland, G. Z.) What he said was, from his standpoint, quite correct: I was fully in agreement with him. He said, that hesitation would only render worse the peace conditions, and that they must be signed at once." (Minutes of the seventh party conference, page 79.)

If the proposal to sign the Brest peace was a "capitulation," then Comrade Lenin was a "capitulator." (As a matter of fact, the tactics of Trotsky at that time would have led to the downfall of the revolution, i. e., to an actual capitulation.) If Comrade Trotsky himself spoke in the above mentioned way as to this affair, who can give credit to his present ultra-polemic remarks? Is it not evident that all this has been discovered afterwards?

At the Seventh Party Congress the debates turned upon quite other questions. It was Comrade Trotsky this time who submitted a declaration regarding his resignations from all responsible posts. (Minutes, pages 147-148.) Against Trotsky and against the "left" Communists, there was directed the resolution of Lenin and Zinoviev (Minutes, page 3), and as regards resignation from the central committee in general, Comrade Lenin said the following words:

"I also found myself in a similar situation in the central committee when the proposal was adopted not to sign the peace, and I kept silent without closing my eyes to the fact that I could not take over responsibility for this. Every member of the central committee is free to repudiate responsibility without resigning from the central committee and without creating a scandal. It is, of course, permissible under certain conditions, and is sometime even unavoidable; but whether that was necessary just now, with this organization of the Soviet power which enables us to control insofar as we do not lose contact with the masses, there can only exist one opinion."

At the Seventh Party Congress Comrade Trotsky, who at that time had only been six months in our party, provoked the first Trotsky crisis. Since that time, unfortunately, these crises occur periodically."

"It is interesting to mention the result of the election of the new central committee at this party conference. The vote of these lines received only one vote less than Comrade Lenin. (To be Continued)

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THE
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"Polikushka" is coming to Gertner's Independent Theater, Jan. 15.

Sixth All-Russian Trade Union Congress

(Continued from page 2)

ductivity, we as the working class, the Soviet government, the party and the trade unions. We are a unit. We are doing one and the same historic work. We must boldly tell the managers that something depends upon them, and that something is about 50 per cent, the other half depending upon the workers. The trade unions should help the managers raise productivity, not in words, but in deeds. And now, at the sixth congress, we must say this more boldly than at the fifth, even tho because the wages and economic conditions of the workers have begun to improve. True, not yet to the degree that is thought in the village, where it is said that the workers are having a wonderful time.

The question of labor productivity stands point blank, and you cannot back out of it. You must stand above the everyday, sometimes inevitable friction between the managements, trade unions and party members. You must understand and thoroly think out the historical task facing us. I understand that Vladimir Ilitch's words on labor productivity have already been read to you. They have now become clothed with flesh and blood.

Productivity of Labor is of Decisive Importance at Present.

Our international situation depends to a much greater degree upon the productivity of labor than the ability of our red diplomats and even more than upon the Red Army. There was a time when the red army determined our international stability 100 per cent. Of course, it is of great importance even now but at the present moment no one can make open war upon us; their hands are too short. The importance of productivity of labor is of decisive international significance both for the destinies of our country and for the destinies of the international revolution. It should attract, like a magnet, the heart of the workers of all the capitalist countries, for it shows them that socialism is developing here. It alone can strengthen us economically and politically and consolidate our union with the peasantry. Here is the key to the entire situation. Only in raising productivity lies the reply to the question of the relations between labor and the peasantry, to the question of concessions and to our entire international situation.

I heard men speaking along the line of "we are very much to the left, we are not interested in the country boom," we are interested in the workers, we must raise the heavy industries at any price. For this sake we must agree to concessions, and have as many of them as possible, not hesitating to give in to international capital, and agree to a loan even if the conditions may be very bad. Here you have the other side of this leftness which looks very much like menshevism. We think otherwise. We think that there is no special need of being particularly lavish in distributing concessions at the end of 1924. In 1918, when things were pretty bad, this could be done. But now we can ourselves raise the industry and there are no reasons for making special concessions to foreign capital. There is no need of letting the goat into the garden; no need of becoming the slaves of foreign capital. We shall raise much on our own shoulders, but this can be done only if we all of us work unanimously to the end of raising the productivity. Despite all the bad features of this campaign which I have mentioned, all of us clearly see that productivity of labor is only beginning to increase and that some results are already evident.

The Trade Unions Nearer to Production.

The next question of principle is the question of the trade unions approaching more closely to production. At the Fifth Congress we spoke little about this. At the sixth this must be said loudly and resolutely. Two and a half years were spent to raise the workers' wages. There is no reason for repenting, that was quite as it should have been. But now another

period is coming. The trade unions have made large conquests. This is a fact. During the two and a half years they came nearer to the working masses, and this also cannot be denied. They have catered for their material interests; they have themselves become greater mass bodies, and there lies the achievement of the labor movement. Our trade unions have made great progress also in their educational work. They have set up 2,000 clubs. This is truly proletarian work, instead of prattle about proletarian culture. The trade unions should continue to work in this line. But as regards industry, as regards direct participation of the trade unions in managing industry, we have, in my opinion, lagged behind during these two years. The production circles now being set up are of course, very promising. But this is not enough. The trade unions do not make use of their industrial rights to the extent that Lenin's resolutions have entitled them to, resolutions adopted unanimously. The trade unions were absorbed in other tasks. Of course, it is good that they had fulfilled them, but we are now entering a new phase. The trade unions should engage more closely than before in industry, in the drawing up of the production programs, in forming the administrations in fixing prices, etc. In all this the trade unions should take an active part, and they should raise productivity of labor to the highest possible degree. Only thus can the issue with the peasantry be solved.

The Problem of the Commanders in the Real Sense of the Word.

It appears to me that in this connection the problem of commanders in the real sense of the word again arises. I am not speaking here of the commanders in the red army. I speak of the teacher who also belongs among the commanders. I am speaking here of the production commanders. The trade unions have begun to promote the production personnel from among their ranks, have begun to remove the sham specialists, in order to replace them by their own people and support the truly honest and real specialists. The question of commanders in the broad sense of the word, never stood as clearly as now. It now stands broadly in relation to the peasantry, in relation to land improvement in the village, in relation to culture, etc., etc., in every sphere in which our life is developing. We cannot pass over this question, which is one of the essential questions of our internal policy. This gave rise to the new attitude to the teachers. This is no mere unprincipled flirtation, but a new historical situation. A similar attitude is necessary all along the line.

The production commanders, both the lower and middle should be sought primarily from amongst your own ranks, and this question should be tackled in all seriousness. Now that the country is warming up, when the alarm over bread and butter has been forgotten, when new political and economic questions are being raised, when new relations between the workers and the peasantry are clearly developing, that represents a possible menace (they are not necessarily a menace if the proper measures are taken), under such a situation the several hundred thousand men throughout the country who make up the commanding personnel in the broad sense of the word, should be ideologically organized by us, should be ideologically with us, so that we could be responsible for them. This should become an object engaging the constant attention of the party and the trade unions. I do not know how this matter will turn out in reality, in practice, but any way, it stands as a political problem intimately affecting also the Sixth Trade Union Congress. I thought it my duty to touch upon it briefly.

Attention to the Proletarian Students.

One of the sub-groups of this problem is the question of the proletarian students. Let me say a few words on this question. Trade union nuclei are now beginning to be organized among the students. You may discuss how they should be organized; the

question should be considered in the most serious manner. However, we have here also a political problem, for here you have a part of the question about the commanders and our congress should take up in some section or commission the question about the proletarian students and give it due attention. In 192 technical schools we have 20,000 workers, who will make up a large part of the future production commanders. This group of 20,000 workers should hear a word of interest from us, should hear a word of attention and support, should feel definite support and see a true Bolshevik attitude towards them, for I repeat, this is a part of the question about the commanding personnel.

They Are Basic, Not Temporary Questions.

Comrades, these are the questions standing on the order of the day. Of course, there are many other questions that are, so to speak, eternal, imperishable, fundamental. Among these are primarily the slogan "Nearer to the masses" and the question of the Bolshevization of the labor movement. During the last two years the trade unions have come much more closely to the masses, this is a fact. Still nearer to the masses! No matter how near we come to them, we must not boast of the successes or stop there. We see how the cultural needs of the masses have changed. The worker is different from what he was in 1919. The needs and demands of the peasants have also grown, and our leaders should remember this fact, they should themselves grow and satisfy the growing needs of the masses. The material welfare of the workers and peasants has improved, and with it grow their cultural demands and grow politics. It is wrong to assume that if the peasants will live better he will think less of politics. Just the contrary. With the growth of the material welfare of the peasants and workers will grow their cultural and political demands and interests, that they will put before us, the leaders of the trade unions and the leaders of the party. They must be answered.

Always Learn From Leninism.

We are now teaching the workers of the world to Bolshevize the labor movement. But we ourselves must also remember this. We are of course, the most Bolshevik party in the world, we are the strongest labor movement in the Comintern. But this does not mean that we have been Bolshevized 100 per cent. Our party still needs more Bolshevization. The trade unions need Bolshevization, and our labor movement as a whole needs it. As long as you live, study Leninism, perfect yourselves and then you will be a real Bolshevik. No self satisfaction. We know our strong sides. But we must also know our weak sides, but we must see both the conscious and unconscious attempts to revise Leninism, that are sometimes made even in Lenin's name.

Honest and Dishonest Wrongdoers.

You remember how at the beginning of the revolution, when Vladimir Ilitch came from abroad, he brought with him a new term "honest defenders." When we lived abroad there was no talk about honest defendists. We only knew the dishonest, dyed in the wool fakers of the Second International who drove the workers to the slaughter. And when Vladimir Ilitch came here and saw masses of soldiers and peasants who sincerely and enthusiastically marched off to the defense of the revolutionary "fatherland," he nicknamed them honest defendists and he preached patient, systematic, constant explanation and patience for them.

We now have among us some honest "misunderstandings" of Leninism. Let us see what is taking place. Everybody now calls himself a Leninist. There are men who would like to be Leninists, but cannot be, because they have not been boiled in the fire of the organizational discipline of the Bolshevik party, they have learned little, etc. These are men who could be said to be honestly misled. They are honestly wrong; they need explanation; they do not quite understand Lenin's ideas, the vanguard must therefore patiently enlighten them.

But there are men who interpret

Leninism in whatever way suits them best. They cannot be said to be honestly misled. There is very little honesty about them, and we must fight them ideologically in a most determined manner.

The Bolshevization of the labor movement is not only a slogan meant for export. No comrades, this slogan is meant for us as well (laughter).

We live in a country in which there are so many illiterates, in which the legal labor movement is just in its teens. We have a party with a wonderful past. It has gone thru three revolutions, has had an incomparable leader, and teacher, the like of whom cannot be found anywhere in the world. Still we worked in a poor illiterate country, and our organization is weak. And it would have been a miracle were the entire labor movement here Bolshevized 100 per cent. This of course, is not so. We will have to do much hard labor those of us who have learned something from Lenin, that is, the trade unions and the party, will have to work hard many and many a year in order to promote the growth and Bolshevization of the labor movement, to make it keep abreast with the world events, to have it remember that its past services will not bring any more tributes on the world arena, and that it is time to think of the future.

Conclusions.

I therefore think that we have a number of new problems.

On the question of the international labor movement we are for unity. We shall fight under this slogan resolutely and to the end like Bolsheviks.

On the question of the peasantry we have a new situation. We have various difficulties that are perfectly surmountable, and we shall remove them.

On the question of productivity of labor, down with "we" and "you"! It is clear that this is now the fundamental question of our entire economy, of our world situation. This is of greater importance than diplomacy even than the red army; it is the question of all questions.

The trade unions nearer to industry!

The problem of the commanding personnel is raised for the first time on the proletarian arena.

The problem of the proletarian students is a part of this question.

All these questions are dominated by the economic question. Metal, was the slogan raised by the Thirteenth Congress. We now can say more precisely: metal, textile, coal, oil and railways. This is what decided the fate of our country and in a certain measure, the fate of the international movement.

Well then, the entire determination and passion of the Bolsheviks, which have heretofore been put into the civil war, and in the other businesses that were put forth by the precious situation, the entire determination and passion, the entire "die-hardness," which Vladimir Ilitch taught us. The entire energy, the entire power of the masses, all the brains and talents possessed now by the party and the trade union movement, all this must be put into metal, textile, coal, railways, oil, higher productivity of labor (stormy applause), and everything should be solved from the point of view of the problems which Lenin has taught us, in the light of true Leninism, in the light of the modest, quiet, unshowy, but firm work of Bolshevizing our labor movement. If we solve this problem, our congress will be marked as a serious stage in the history of the labor movement of our country, in the history of the struggle of the world working class for the emancipation of labor. (Stormy, lasting applause, deafening the sound of the orchestra).

Watch for the Special
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1925

"One Single Cohesive Fear"

By Robert Minor

A TINY corner of the political jungle of the Solid South was illuminated when Senator Pat Harrison, democrat of Mississippi, clashed with Senator Bruce, democrat of Maryland, last Monday afternoon in the senate.

Harrison comes from the depth of the Southern political and economic jungle. Bruce comes from the edge of the feudal jungle. That partly explains the difference. And from their sharp difference we obtain a little picture of the deepening class antagonism in that vast, unhappy, decaying and yet living human mass which we call the Solid South.

Bruce and Harrison are, both equally political vultures. Superficially they are of the same school of vultures—both are members of the "immortal party of Jefferson." But the school of political vultures which is called the democratic party is dividing. The vulture who lives on the edge of the clearing has learned to live on a different kind of meat—the meat which is the political garbage of modern capitalist society while the vulture from the heart of the wilderness still lives on raw jungle meat.

Bruce of Maryland represents the bourgeoisie of that northern fringe of the South which has been reached by the march of modern industry—the big bourgeoisie which has been made big, rich, powerful, and has been orientated toward the financial metropolis. Bruce took his stand with the big bourgeoisie of the country as a whole on the Mellon tax plan.

Harrison of Mississippi represents a decaying, backward, ultra-ignorant petty-bourgeoisie, and the decayed remnants of a feudal landlord class. Mississippi has never ceased to be a "slave state"—it is a slave country, not in the sense that all capitalist countries are lands of wage-slavery, but in the sense of still retaining to a large degree the old system of production thru the bodily ownership of chattel-slaves by feudal masters, with an elaborate system of restrictions against "free" competition of workers in the wage-labor market and the "free" production of farm products. Twenty-four years ago there were 137,852 families of agricultural serfs working as "share-farmers" and "tenant-farmers" in Mississippi, with many other scores of thousands of slave laborers without even the claim to hold land as tenants; and since that time the proportion of serfs has increased.

Practically all of the laboring and tenant farming class are completely without political rights, and without redress in courts of law. Less than one-tenth of the adult population of Mississippi exercises the right of the ballot. Thru a system of agricultural "credit" the entire class is practically bound to the land as "debtors" for life, their children inheriting the "debts" and living on in slavery without hope of freedom. It is a notable fact that in Mississippi we have a large agricultural class which has never even known the hope of owning land. The greater portion of these are Negroes—more than half of the population of the state are Negroes—and as such are disfranchised; and those who are not Negroes are mostly disfranchised as "ignorant." Virtually no schools are provided. Lynch law and the stake are the only law for them, and the paranoiac preachers' "God" is the only court of appeal.

There are no cities of consequence in Mississippi, no manufactures, no minerals (and therefore no mines), and until recently there was no seaport. Mississippi is one great cotton plantation, varied here and there with sugar-cane plantation.

The vast field of primitive agriculture is broken only by a few stunted cities and towns, and by lumber camps in which the timber cutting is done largely by labor recruited thru "vagrancy" laws under which slave-hunters are rewarded at two dollars per head for the destitute and homeless laborers that are caught in a moment in illegal idleness and sold "to pay costs" of their conviction for vagrancy, tho they often receive not even a form of trial. For being caught idle, men, women and children are sold by

local officers into forced labor for terms as long as a year, without compensation and under corporal punishment.

This is the social system represented by Senator Pat Harrison. Naturally he does not represent the masses of toilers. He represents their masters. But even the masters are not of the class of the big bourgeoisie—they are a peculiarly primitive and stunted petty-bourgeoisie. The type represented by Harrison is the cross-roads store-keeper, who lends "credit" to the impoverished tenant-farmers and who thus becomes their bodily owner; and the landlord who spends his life haggling with a dozen or a score of "share" farmers, taking customarily one half of their crops as rent and the other half in repayment of "loans."

The Mississippi system of serfdom is a backward form of production and cannot be made to produce large results, nor to produce a really wealthy bourgeoisie. Herein lies the peculiar form of stagnation characteristic to the most backward sections of the Solid South. The master class for the most part remains an impoverished exploiting class, and this gives the class character to Senator Pat Harrison's constituency. It is this which orientates the Mississippi senator on a myriad of questions, including the question of whether the burden of the income tax shall fall directly upon the small parasitic incomes or the large parasitic incomes.

Senator Harrison, representing the snivelling, nickel-nursing parasites, wants the big bourgeoisie of the far-away industrial centers to pay the income tax.

Senator Bruce

Senator Bruce of Maryland, representing a class of parasites which has been introduced to the more efficient method of exploiting thru wage-slavery in industrialized production (and which nurses dollars instead of nickels), wants the burden of taxation to fall upon the smaller incomes.

So the two "democratic" senators fight. On the face of it, the two should be members of separate parties, each fighting for separate class interests. But it is not so simple as that.

The case was stated sharply by Senator Bruce. He taunted Harrison with the very plain fact that the Mississippi democrat might logically be expected to line up with "Wisconsin, Nebraska and North Dakota"—meaning, of course, that the Southern cockroach bourgeoisie might logically line up with the LaFollette movement which represents the cockroach bourgeoisie of the country generally. But at the same time Senator Bruce taunted Harrison with the reason why he DOES NOT line up with the country's general petty-bourgeoisie movement. Bruce gave the reason as:

"ONE SINGLE, COHESIVE FEAR."

Fear of the Negro

He meant altho he did not pronounce the words—the "single, cohesive fear" of the NEGRO. He meant that the Southern cockroach bourgeoisie does not dare to face the slightest disturbance of the political surface of the South, the slightest disturbance of its relationships to the Negro. He meant that the backward exploiters of Harrison's constituency do not dare to break the front of the democratic party. The "Party of the Immortal Jefferson" (and of Jefferson Davis, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson) stood for half a century as the guardian of chattel slavery in the South, and for another half century as the preserver of its remnants. For half a century the democratic party in the South has been the accepted political medium for preserving what is called "White Supremacy."

The master class of the South in general and of Mississippi in particular had never had the slightest aversion to contact with the Negro. To mention the most extreme test, the Southern master class has shown a distinct preference for inter-breeding with the Negro race in numberless instances. At the same time, the ruling class has exercised the most brutal repression and savagery against the Negro. Why?

Why does "the one single cohesive

fear" of the Negro constitute the power that holds the bourgeoisie of the South in a single political line?

Because the fear of the Negro is not the fear of a race, it is the fear of a CLASS. The secret of it is that THE EXPLOITED CLASSES OF MISSISSIPPI CONSIST IN OVERWHELMING PROPORTION OF NEGROES.

The vast majority of the tenant-farmers and laborers on whose backs Senator Pat Harrison's ruling class lives, is composed of Negroes. They are exploited as laborers and peasants. But they can be held in political subjection and directly applied terror more conveniently as Negroes. The coincidence, that the exploited class is mostly black of face, enables the ruling class of the South to obscure its class oppression under the easy cover of race oppression. (In fact the whites of the same economic classes are almost equally terrorized and oppressed.)

Contradictions

The rotting, putrifying, impoverished and discontented petty bourgeoisie of the Solid South has many impulses toward solidarity with the similar class of the North as against the more wealthy bourgeoisie. But it dares not let go or disturb its front for the "One Single Cohesive Fear" that it may lose its hold on its serf class which is mostly black of face.

The big bourgeoisie of the North also at various times during the past thirty years has been inconvenienced by the stagnant cohesiveness of the Solid South. Democratic and republican politicians alike have made repeated gestures toward breaking up the Solid South of the democratic party. As a child in Texas in 1896 the writer was astonished to see a local banker's sons actually flaunting a republican banner, (considered an unspeakable offense) which meant that the danger of the Bryan movement capturing the government thru the capture of the democratic party and hereby using the political strength of the South in a debtor's drive against the big bourgeoisie, was frightening the Southern bourgeoisie. Since that time republican politicians, Roosevelt, Taft, Elihu Root, Harding and Coolidge, have made overtures to the Southern bourgeoisie by offering to commit the republican party to "white supremacy" in the Southern states. Today, subsidized Negro newspapers continue to flaunt the slogan of Frederick Douglass (of the Civil War period) that "the Republican party is the SHIP; All else is the SEA," but Mr. C. Bascom Silem strives to introduce the republican party to the Southern ruling class as the thing it is—another party of "White Supremacy"—which means capitalist class supremacy over the toiling masses whose faces are largely black. And it has already been proven that the democratic and republican parties act on a "gentleman's agreement" by which they co-operate in killing every gesture (however sterile) toward granting political rights to Negroes.

History forces the question of the breaking up of the Solid South upon the order of the day. Yet neither the republican party nor the democratic party (both of the big bourgeoisie), nor any party of the petty bourgeoisie, will do it or can desire to do it at the cost of extending citizenship rights to the most exploited of all classes in America, the Negro toilers. Such citizenship rights would not free the Negro masses from exploitation, terror and suppression. The break-up of semi-feudal restrictions would make the exploitation more efficient and productive, and put the terror and suppression on a more secure basis. But the existing exploiting class has its lines of operation laid in feudal conditions, and dares not face any change which tend to substitute a new and more capable set of exploiters in their place.

This is the Impasse.

The big bourgeoisie, generally speaking, has an interest in breaking up the backward system of feudal production. But in concrete cases it becomes the interest of the big bourgeoisie to make a truce with the remnants of feudal conditions. Thus it is, that the republican party in attempting

to introduce itself to the ruling class of the South, offers itself as another party of "White Supremacy." In past history, capitalism, in order to overthrow feudalism as a then ruling system, has been forced to draw the proletariat into political activity. But in the present stage of capitalism it can better afford to ally itself with the beaten remnants of feudalism (as witness Central Europe), than to stir up the exploited masses.

With things as they are in the South, no capitalist party, nor any petty-bourgeois party, will or can dare to stir the exploited masses into even "democratic" political efforts. Under the existing circumstances, none but a revolutionary party—the revolutionary party—will or can do this.

Any effort to break up the Solid South into political divisions of the republican and democratic parties, will be made only with the severest precautions by both parties against political enfranchisement (little as that means) of the black masses.

None but the most exploited masses of the Southern jungle (whose faces are mostly black) can set these masses into motion, and no party whose purpose is not revolution will dare to lead such a movement.

Senator Bruce in a moment of anger can taunt Senator Harrison with indiscrete hints of the fear of the masses whose faces are black. But when his anger cools, the knees of Senator Bruce must also tremble with the "one single cohesive fear."

The Workers (Communist) Party alone can and must become the embodiment of the "one single cohesive fear"—the leader and liberator of the exploited masses of the backward South whose faces are both black and white.

THREE MOVIES IN ONE EVENING FOR ONE PRICE

The workers of Chicago will have the opportunity to see three live working class pictures in one evening for the price of one. All the pictures were made in Russia during the revolution.

The first is "Polikushka," the famous story of serfdom by L. N. Tolstoy. Made into a movie by the world famous Moscow Art Theatre.

The second, "Soldier Ivan's Miracle," a comedy, tells a serious story about religion, but in a funny, peculiar Russian way.

The third, "In Memoriam—Lenin," is showing Nicolai Lenin in action, the last picture is shown in connection with the first anniversary of Lenin's death.

The pictures will be shown in Chicago only ONE EVENING, THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, from 6:30 to 11 p. m. at Gartner's Independent Theater, 3725 Roosevelt Road, near Independence Blvd.

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